

His Royal Highness
William Duke of Cumberland.

Parr

A Compleat HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

Form its first *Rise*, in 1745, to its total *suppression* at the glorious Battle of CULLODEN, in *April*, 1746.

By JAMES RAY, *of* Whitehaven.
Volunteer *under his Royal Highness the D. of* Cumberland.

Non, solum nobis, nati, partim pro Patria.

Wherein are contain'd.

THE Intrigues of the PRETENDER's Adherents before the breaking out of the Rebellion, with all the memorable Transactions, and the Particulars of their several Invasions, during that Period of Time: with a particular and succinct Account of the several Marches and Counter Marches of the REBELS, from the *Young* PRETENDER's first Landing on the Island of SKY 'till his Retreat at *Culloden*.

ALSO an Account of the Family and Extraction of the REBEL CHIEFS, especially the CAMERONS.

LIKEWISE, the Natural History and Antiquities of the several Towns thro' which the Author pass'd with his MAJESTY's Army; together with the Manners and Customs of the different People, particularly the *Highlanders*.

WITH a Summary of the Trials and Executions of the REBEL LORDS, &c.

Printed for the AUTHOR, in the Year 1755.


15
63
OCT

7797 TO EVERY

FRIEND

7797 TO

LIBERTY, TRUTH and his COUNTRY;

But particularly to the

Candid READER,

THE FOLLOWING

HISTORY

Is moſt humbly inſcrib'd

By their moſt ſincere Friend,

moſt devoted, and

moſt obliged Servant,

JAMES RAY.


15
63
OCT

THE PREFACE.

IN this History *I propose to give my Readers a genuine Account of the late* Rebellion, *as it occur'd to me from ocular Demonstrations; for as I had the Honour to be a Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of* Cumberland; *so I took all Opportunities of writing a Journal; which contains the most material Things that happen'd during that Period; and those Circumstances that did not fall directly under my Observation, I have taken Care to collect from the most authentic Accounts I could procure It is through want of Care in this Particular, that in many ancient, and in some modern Histories, we are so much at a Loss about the Dates and Circumstances relating*

even to the most remarkable Events; and in these a strict Regard ought to be paid to so memorable, as well as melancholy Series of Transactions as this History contains, carried on by a Set of Men whose desperate Fortunes, and unreasonable prejudices, made them fit Instruments for our common Enemy to work upon, delude, and at last engage to join them in distressing the Nation, endavouring to depose the King, *and set on the Throne of these Realms an abjur'd* Pretender; *bred up and instructed in Popish Superstition, and Arbitrary Principles; to the utter Subversion of our Religion, our Laws our Liberties and Properties; the very Name whereof, had they succeeded, had been extinct;—for* France *to design, and do its utmost to effect all this Mischief, had been no Wonder;——but, that any of our Fellow Subjects, and Protestants (who could not be ignorant or insensible of the cruel Spirit of Popery, and intolerable Yoke of Despotick Power; and had tasted the Sweets of Liberty) and shared all the Advantages of a mild and legal Government) should be such Traitors to their Country*

Country as to assist the common Enemy in enslaving and bringing it under a foreign Jurisdiction, is Matter of Wonder; and what can scarce be parall'd in History.

THE *Barbarians indeed that over-ran your Country, were like the ancient* Goths, *intrepid, bold, and daring, inur'd to Hardships and Fatigues from their Infancy; and what is still more, headed by Men of desperate Fortunes, to whom they paid an implicit Obedience; but, that they who were so small a Number, and some of them unarm'd, should penetrate so far into this Kingdom, is what future Ages, when they read of it, will hold in Derision: However, if it be consider'd, how at that Time, the Nation was destitute of its chief Defence our Troops, with their brave Commander, being then abroad; a* Rebellion *and* Invasion *having been long laugh'd out of Countenance by the Presumption of the* Malecontents, *nay, even many of his Majesty's best Friends, some of high Dignity, were fallen into a Lethargy of Disbelief as to that Monster* Rebellion *ever appearing among us; our*

Nation

Naton not only undiſciplin'd as to Arms, but thro' a long Peace and great Plenty, undiſciplin'd alſo as to the more noble Exerciſes of the Mind, Sobriety, Temperance, true Virtue and Public Spirit; torn in Pieces by Ambition and Factions among the Great, and in all Degrees of Life, by an Abuſe of the moſt extenſive Liberty, and beſt Government ever People were bleſs'd with: When we conſider that many Jacobites *had been laviſh of Promiſes to the* Scots *Rebels, who repaid the deluded, unthinking* Engliſh, *that join'd them, by forcing them to ſtay at* Carliſle, *where the Conſequence muſt be that* Martyrdom *which they boaſted of when they found it unavoidable: Add to this, that the* French, *our inveterate Enemy, remarkable for Deceit, Perfidiouſneſs and every Art of Political Villany, even when meditating againſt us, ſolemnly denying it and forming an Expectation of finiſhing their Conqueſt of* Flanders *when our brave Troops were drawn thence; when theſe Things are conſider'd our Wonder in ſome Degree ceaſes. But if you would continue to deſerve the Name of* Britons, *unite*

in

in the vigorous Defence of our Liberties and your Country. Be not amus'd with Party-Names, nor let any Diſtinction for the future ſubſiſt among us, but that of ſuch as are, or are not Friends to our King, our Country, and the Proteſtant Religion, and Enemies to France *and Slavery, Popery and Bigotry; for in Proportion as we are good Subjects and truly virtuous, we ſhall recover our former* Honour, *and yet become a Scourge to* France.

To conclude, I have taken Care through the whole of my Hiſtory, to relate Facts with the greateſt Perſpicuity and Exactneſs; and will only add, that when the Nation became rouz'd from its Lethargy never was there a greater Spirit of Love and Loyalty than appear'd amongſt all Ranks of People (ſome Malecontents excepted) *which plainly ſhews that his Majeſty King* GEORGE *reigns in the Hearts of all his faithful Subjects. I hope that great Example of theirs will ſpread its Influence, through the Dwellings of the Diſaffected, and convince them*

them (and ſuch as are of unſettled Opinions and Prejudices) that it would be a wiſe Part in them to Diſcountenance all Popiſh Impoſters, and defend to the laſt Drop of their Blood—that illuſtrious and heroick Family, by which kind Providence has made us a free and happy People.

A Compleat HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.



AS ſoon as a War broke out upon the Continent, the *Iriſh* and *Scots* Patizans of the *Chevalier*, at the Court of *Madrid*, judged it a fit Opportunity to put their Scheme of Rebellion in Practice, and propoſed an Invaſion both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, pretending they had very clear and good Proofs of a ſtrong Spirit of Diſcontent, working in both Countries; ſo that with a ſmall foreign Force a Revolution might with Probability of Succeſs be attempted. This was very well

well received at *Rome* the eldeſt Son of the *Chevalier de St. George* having ſtudied for ſome Years every thing he thought requiſite, to furniſh himſelf for an Expedition of this Nature: But perhaps it had not taken Effect ſo ſoon, if his future Secretary Mr *Murray* had not reported to him, that it was eaſy to raiſe the Clans, if he could be ſure of any Aſſiſtance from *France*. At this very Time the *Spaniards* were employed in driving the *French* into a War declared againſt us; and Cardinal *Aquaviva*, being let into the Secrets of the *Chevalier's* Intelligence, undertook that his Catholick Majeſty ſhould make a Point of this likewiſe, and oblige *France* to take a Part in this Scheme and grant Prince *Edward* ſuch Succours as might appear requiſite for carrying his intended Invaſion into immediate Execution. But upon Application to the Court of *Verſailles*, many Difficulties aroſe; for ſeveral of the *French* Miniſters being perſuaded they had already more upon their Hands then they could well manage; vehemently oppoſed adding a new

a new and expenſive Project, to thoſe with which they were perplexed before. But there were three Perſons in the Council of that Kingdom determined to ſupport this Diſpoſition from very different Motives, who though they did not avow it publickly, were however determined to bring it about. Cardinal *Tencin* owed his Hat to the Chevalier, and was always his declared Partizan. M. *de Saxe* had an irreconcilable and hereditary Hatred to be gratified by this Meaſure. And M. *de Belleiſle* judged it agreeable to his general Syſtem; the Baſis of which was, that the more his Majeſty's Affairs were embroil'd the more neceſſary his Services would be; and the more, conſequently, himſelf and his Family conſider'd -- But though theſe great Men concurred in the Deſign, they would none of them venture propoſing to invite the Chevalier or either of his Sons into *France*, but reſolv'd to procure that Step to be taken, without Formality, by the Interpoſition of Cardinal *Aquaviva*, that they might afterwards be able to diſavow it.

Accordingly this Method was taken, and Cardinal *Aquaviva* ſollicited the Chevalier to conſent to his eldeſt Son's ſetting out, even before a formal Invitation came from *Paris*;--for he was ſatisfied, that notwithſtanding any Appearances, the great Men at Court might wear, they would be very glad to ſee and aſſiſt the young Man, who, on his Side, was ſo deſirous of ſhewing himſelf, and ſo confident of Succeſs, that he never left teazing his Father, (whoſe Experience made him leſs ſanguine,) 'till he obtain'd his Conſent; but this was not till he had certain Advice from *France* that they were meditating an Invaſion on *England*, which was in the Winter of 1743, and then he enter'd on the neceſſary Preparations. It was the Month of *February* 1744, before every Thing was ready and the neceſſary Remittances fixed, in caſe he ſhould think proper to act upon his own Plan of going into *Scotland*, inſtead of landing with the *French* Troops, who were on the Point of embarking when he left *Rome*. The Manner of his Departure, which was entirely

entirely in the *Italian* Strain, and his Journey to *Genoa*, where he took up ſome Bills of Exchange, which were duly paid, made a fine *Italian* Piece —— which was preſented to all the Friends of the Family at *Rome*.

On his Arrival at *Paris* he was very coldly received, more eſpecially by the Miniſtry; and the King ſeemed a little ſurprized at the Abruptneſs of his Appearance. —— But notwithſtanding this, ſome of the Miniſters and the Relations of his Family, welcomed him in another Manner, and perſwaded him to go and parade at *Dunkirk* where they were ſtill carrying on the Farce of an Invaſion; in which he was brought to act his Part, but not without Reluctancy. This threw him in ſome Meaſure out with the *French* Court, who left him to mind his own Scheme and Projects without any apparent Countenance, all the next Spring.

By this kind of Management, he ſplit his own little Party into Factions, who

were as warm in their Debates as furious in their Conteſts, and as much four'd in their Opinions, by theſe different Sentiments about the Meaſures he was to take, as if that all their Projects had not been alike empty and chimerical —— Thoſe who follow'd him from *Rome* were abſolutely moulded by his Inclinations; they were perfect Courtiers, had nothing to loſe but their Lives; and by having experienced a long Scene of Misfortunes, were grown in ſome Meaſure careleſs about them. They magnified the Project, extolled the Courage, and hoped mighty Things from the Fortune of their Chief; his very Perſon was an Army, and his Preſence ſufficient to make a whole Nation revolt. The old Cavaliers, who had remained long in Exile in *France*, and were heartly weary of the Uſage they had met with there, ran very eaſily into the ſame Way of thinking, and were eager for entering upon Action. But the wiſeſt Heads, and greateſt Men among them, were in Sentiments directly oppoſite; they ſaid, he ought well to conſider his firſt Expedition

pedition; for if he fail'd in that, it would never be in his Power to make another; that risking his Person was nothing in Comparison of risking his Friends; and that every Measure he took towards raising an unsuccessful Rebellion, was a Step in favour of his Enemies. The latter Party were so much in Earnest, that they applied to the *French* Court, to desire they would interpose; and received a Promise to that Effect. The *French* Ministers began now to be well pleased to see Things take this Turn, hoping he would make a desperate Attempt himself, at much less Expence then if abetted by them; perswaded, that whether successful or not, he would do their Business, and create such a Disturbance in *Britain* as might affect its publick Credit.

In Publick therefore, and even under their Hands, they opposed and discountenanced his Scheme for an Invasion, but privately applauded it, and expressed a vast Confidence in the heroick Disposition of the young Pretender, and

made no Scruple of ſaying. That by venturing upon ſuch an Exploit, he would ſurprize his Friends, amaze and confound his Enemies and put the King and his Miniſters under a Neceſſity of owning, aſſiſting, and ſupporting him for ever. Thus they managed, cheated, and betrayed both Parties.

The Arrival of the Pretender's Son in *France*, could not but give great Reaſon to ſuſpect that ſomething was meditating there in his Favour, nor was it long before there appear'd evident Signs of an intended Invaſion, though, as I have ſhewn, this perfidious Court pretended to have Knowledge of the young Chevalier's Journey; and it was even ſuggeſted by the *French* Party in *Holland*, that M *de Amelot* was remov'd, and diſgrac'd, for having given the young Adventurer thoſe Hopes which drew him into *France*.

However, in the Summer of the Year 1745, it was known that ſome Preparations were privately making for an Expedition

pedition in Favour of the Pretender; and for that Purpoſe, an Officer in the *French* Navy raiſed a Company of one Hundred Men, under Pretence that they were for the *Eaſt-India* Company's Service, which were ſtiled *Graſſins de Mer*, and were handſomely cloathed in Blue faced with Red; (who we have ſince had the Pleaſure of ſeeing Priſoners of War at *Carliſle*) They were put on board a Frigat carrying eighteen Guns; and every Thing being now ready, the young Deputy Pretender came privately from the Houſe of the Duke *de Fitz-James*, to Port *Lezire* in *Britanny*, where on the 14th of *July* he embarked with about Fifty *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, in order to have ſailed round *Ireland*, and to land in the North-Weſt of *Scotland* This Frigat of his was joined of *Belle-Iſle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of ſixty Guns, taken from us by the *French* in the laſt War, and now extremely well mann'd for this Service. In their Paſſage they fell in with a Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchantmen, under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz. the *Lion*, Capt.

Capt *Brett* engaged the *Elizabeth* for nine Hours; but soon after the Engagement began, the Frigat bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The *Elizabeth* when Night came on, made all the Sail she could to get clear, and returned to *Breſt*, quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. She had on board a large Sum of Money and Arms for several thousand Men, which were to have been landed with the Pretender, for the Use of his Adherents. As for the Frigat, beforementioned, she stood in for the Coast of *Lochabar*, and anchored betwixt the Islands of *Skie* and *Mull*. * and there landed

* *MULL* lies in *Argyleſhire*. The Air is temperately cold and moiſt, being qualified with Breezes from the Mountains, of which there is a great Ridge in the Middle, one so high that it is seen from all the Western Islands, and from a great Part of the Continent: There is good Pasturage; their Horses and Black Cattle are small but sprightly, and the latter very good Meat. Here is Store of Sheep, Goats, Deer, Wild, Fowl, Sea-Fowl, and fine Hawks, with Barley and Oats, a great

landed the young Pretender and his Attendants. He went first to the House of Mr *Mac Donald* of *Kinloch Moidart* that is, the Head of the Lake *Moidart*, where he remained in private for some Time, until he was join'd by the *Camerons*,

---

great Variety of Plants, some Woods, and Plenty of Turf and Peat. Here are several Bays and Places for Anchorage, of which that of *Duart*, on the East-Side is most frequented. The Coast, especilly *Lochleffen-Bay*, abound with Herring, Cod, Ling, Cockles, Muscles; and here are also Seals, Otters, and Vipers; and several Rivers that abound with Salmon and Pearl Muscles; and Fresh-Water Lakes that abound with Trout and Eels. 'Tis well Water'd, and has three Castles, the Chief of which is *Castle-Dilard*, on a Promontory near the South-East Corner of the Island. Here are likewise several old Forts, supposed to have been built by the *Danes*. The Inhabitants, who, except a few, are Protestants, have two Parish Churches and a little Chapel. There are several Islands in the Bay, some of which have Forts. The late Duke of *Argyle* became its Proprietor upon the Forfeiture of the Family of *Maclean*. 'Tis divided by a Channel not half a League broad from *Lochabar Swonard*, and *Moidart*; and upon the North-East is scarce four Miles from the *Morvein* Part of the Continent. It has one good Road called *Polcarf*.

merons, *Mac Donalds*; *Stuarts*, and ſome other Clans, in Number about 150 then he ſet up his Standard on the 16th of *Auguſt*, and choſe for his Motto, *Tandem Triumphans*, i. e. *At length Triumphant.*

As the *Camerons* were the moſt diſtinguiſhed Clan in the Rebel Army, and of which the celebrated Miſs *Jenny* is a Branch, I thought it might not be improper to give the following Account of them. The preſent *Lochiel*, Chief of that Name, pretends to be lineally deſcended from *Hugh* the firſt of that Family, which is of about 700 Years ſtanding. There has been a conſtant Succeſſion of Great Men down from the ſaid Sir *Hugh*, to the preſent *Lochiel*, famous in the late Rebellion. The Revenue of the Eſtate is about 500 l. per Annum, excluſive of the Wood that is now on it. Some of the Merchants of *Whitehaven* have of late had large Dealings with young *Lochiel* for Timber.

The preſent Sir *Hugh Cameron* having reſided long in *France* and *Rome*, is ſtrongly

ſtrongly attached to the Houſe of *Stuart*: He came over with the Pretender in 1715, and went back again with him to *France*. When the late Rebellion broke out in 1745, he embark'd with the Chevalier in his Expedition againſt *Scotland*; where, though he was eighty Years of Age, he behaved with ſurprizing Activity As for young *Lochiel* he was never Abroad with his Father, but lived quietly at Home upon his Eſtate; and it is ſuppoſed he knew nothing of the intended Invaſion till after the young Pretender landed in *Scotland*; when he receiv'd a Summons to raiſe the Clan, come at their Head, and join the Standard. But young *Lochiel* not liking to meddle in ſo dangerous an Affair, delay'd it for the Space of ſix Weeks, though the young Pretender, and his Father were all that Time at the Houſe of *Mac Donald* of *Kinloch Moidart*. At laſt the young Deputy Pretender came to *Acnacary*, with about fifty Perſons in his Retinue, together with old Sir *Hugh Cameron*; on their Arrival the old Gentleman immediately

ſhewed

ſhewed himſelf to his Clan, who were overjoy'd to ſee their old Chief amongſt them again; and the Son had nothing left him but to obey his Father's Command like his other Vaſſals.

The Clan of the *Camerons* are about eight hundred fighting Men; there are but a few Gentlemen of the Name now ſettled in *Scotland*, though there is a conſiderable Number of them in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. The chief Branch of this Family was Mr *Cameron* of *Glandeſſery*, Father of the celebrated Miſs *Jenny*. The Eſtate of *Glandeſſery* does not exceed 150 l. per Annum, yet he can raiſe very near as many Men as his Chief.

The Pretender being now join'd by the whole Clan of the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, the *Mac Donalds* of *Glengary*, the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, and ſome other of the Clans, his Army amounted to about two Thouſand Men, when, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, he appear'd with his Forces near Fort *William*, and about this Time diſpers'd

diſpers'd many of his Father's Maniſeſto's, one of which was Dated in 1743, that plainly ſhew'd a Diverſion was then intended; another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent; and a Third, containing large Promiſes to the People of *Scotland*. Soon after this, two Companies of St. *Clair's* Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were ſent to reconnoitre, and were moſt of them taken Priſoners; as was Capt. *Sweetenham*, of *Guiſe's* Regiment, ſoon after, but he was releas'd upon his Parole: However, he immediately poſted up to *London*, where he gave the firſt and moſt diſtinct Account of the Force, Situation and Deſign of the Rebels, who now began to think themſelves ſtrong enough to march Southward; which they immediately prepar'd to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Kt. of the *Bath*, was at that Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and had the Direction of Military Affairs there; in Purſuance of which, he drew together the Troops

then in that Kingdom arm'd the Militia and took what other Precautions he thought neceſſary, and then judg'd it proper to march Northward in order to find out the Rebels, expecting to meet with them at the Chain; which is the Name given to the great Road leading a-croſs from *Fort-William* to *Inverneſs* where the General arriv'd with his Forces, after a fatiguing March, but found himſelf diſappointed; for the Rebels, inſtead of marching through the Paſs at *Kerryerrock*, they took the Way over the Mountains, and the firſt News he heard of them was, that they had taken Poſſeſſion of *Perth*, on the 4th of *September*, and on the 5th proclaim'd the Pretender.

It was now publickly known that ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction had join'd the Pretender, particularly the Perſon call'd the Duke of *Perth*, (Chief of the Family of the *Drummonds*, and Son of the Earl of *Perth*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who follow'd the Fortune of the late King *James*, and was by him created

created a Duke in *France*) the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, then ſtiling himſelf the Duke of *Athol*, eldeſt Son of the late Duke, (but attainted for the Share he had in the late Rebellion,) Lord *George Murray*, his Brother, and ſeveral others.

On the 11th they began their March for the Firth of *Forth*, which they croſs'd on the 13th, at the Ford of *Frew*, in Number about three Thouſand; they took their Rout for *Glaſgow*, which they ſummon'd but received no Anſwer. The Subſtance of their Summons is as follows:

I Need not inform you of my Vie y in coming, that is already ſufficiently known: All thoſe who love their Country, and the true Intereſt of Britain, *ought to wiſh for my Succeſs, and do what they can to promote it. It would be a needleſs Repetition to tell you, that all the Privileges of your Town are included in my Declaration, and what I have promis'd, I never will depart from. I hope this is your Way of thinking; and there-*

fore expect your Compliance with my Demands, a Sum of Money not exceeding 15,000 l. Sterling, (beſides what is due to the Government, and whatever Arms can be found in the City, is all at preſent I require. The Terms propos'd are very reaſonable, and what I promiſe to make good. I chooſe to make thoſe Demands; but, if not complied with, ſhall take other Meaſures, and you ſhall be anſwerable for the Conſequence,

Sign'd, *CHARLES*, P. R.

LEEKY, *Sept.* 15, 1745.

On the 14th they directed their March Eaſtward, towards *Edinburgh*, which they entered on the 17th, being not only invited, but ſollicited thereto by the *Jacobites* in and about that City, who well knew that the well-affected Inhabitants would have baffled any Attempt upon it, if they had got the Fencing of the City finiſhed, and the Thouſand Men levied and trained, who were to be raiſed by the voluntary Subſcription. Beſides

theſe

theſe, five Hundred of the chief Inhabitants of the City, Lawyers, Writers, Phyſicians, and even Divines, took up Arms for the Defence of the Town. About twenty-three Patteraroes, and Ship-Guns, were placed at the Gates, and on the Baſtions of the City Walls. Theſe Volunteers, &c. continued under Arms all *Sunday* Night, and likewiſe on *Monday*, till Five o'Clock in the Afternoon; at which Time *Gardiner's* and *Hambleton's* Dragoons retired from *Colt-Bridge*, towards *Muſſelburgh* on the approach of the Van guard of the Rebels, who put the Inhabitants of the City into ſome ſmall Confuſion, imagining that the whole Body of the Rebels were approaching. However, the Volunteers, &c. continued under Arms, waiting for Orders to take their reſpective Stations, which they were reſolved to defend to the laſt.

At this Time, ſeveral Perſons preſented a Petition to the Provoſt, deſiring that a Meeting of the Inhabitants might be call'd, to conſider whether they ſhould

ſtand out, or deliver up the City. The Fire-Bell was accordingly rung; which the Perſons under Arms took as a Signal for bringing them to the Place of Rendezvous, and immediately drew up, headed by their Officers; and the Meeting intended for the Inhabitants, in the new Kirk-Iſle, was filled immediately with Perſons who had been ſtrolling in the Streets, many of them diſaffected to the Government.

In this Meeting, a Letter from the Chevalier was preſented, intimating his Intention to enter the City; but the Reader thereof was ſoon interrupted, and the Queſtion put, Whether the Town was, or was not tenable? ſome affirming that the Dragoons had left them; and others, that it was falſe, and that they were ready to defend the City to the laſt if required.——In the mean Time the Secretary at War acquainted them that he had an Order from the General to requeſt, that the two Regiments of Dragoons might enter the City, if the Inhabitants deſired it.——This occaſioned ſome

ſome warm Debates; when a Gentleman, who had been preſent at a Council of War ſome Days before, aſſerted, that the general Opinion of the Officers was, that the City was not tenable, and that bringing the Dragoons into it, would be cooping them up to their Deſtruction. Immediately the Vote was put, whether to receive the Dragoons, or not? When it paſſed in the Negative; and ſo they went and joined General *Cope*.

No Orders being given what Part the Volunteers ſhould act they delivered their Armes into the Caſtle; the Governor of which ſent for the Cannon, on the Walls and Gates, to be brought into the Caſtle, or nailed up; but for want of Orders from ſome Perſon in Town, they could not be carried away, and ſo fell into the Rebels Hands.

At this Time Sir *John Cope* was at *Inverneſs*, from whence he diſpatched Orders Southward, for Tranſports to be ſent to *Aberdeen*, where he embark'd his Men

Men, and on the 16th of *September* enter'd the Harbour of *Dunbar*; at which Place he landed his Men the next Day, as he did alſo on the 18th his Artillery. Here he received Advice of the City of *Edinburgh* being in the Hands of the Rebels, which it was expected, the *Prov--ſt* had treacherouſly delivered up to them the 16th in the Evening; for about Five the next Morning, the *Netherbow-Port* being open'd to let in a Coach, the Rebels entered at the ſame Time, without the leaſt Reſiſtance; ſo that ſome of the Well affected became a Prey to their Enemies. General *Gueſt* had retired into the Caſtle with a ſmall Number of regular Troops; the Bank, and moſt of the publick Offices, being removed into that Fortreſs before.

Brigadier *Fowke* with *Hamilton*'s and *Gardiner*'s Dragoons, having joined Sir *John Cope*'s Army, they on the 19th marched from *Dunbar*, and encamped that Night on the Weſt Side of *Haddington*; The next Morning early, they continued their March, and in the Even-

ing

ing reached *Preſton-Pans*. The Rebels having got a good Supply of Arms, and what elſe they wanted at *Edinburgh*, and their Army being now augmented to five Thouſand Men, they marched out of the City to engage the Kings Troops. General *Cope* had no ſooner pitched on a piece of Ground, and got his little Army form'd, than the Rebels appear'd on the high Ground to the South of him. He thereupon formed a full Front to theirs, when the Armies exchanged ſeveral Huzza's and probably from their not liking our Diſpoſition, they began to alter their own, and made a large Detachment of their Left towards *Preſton*, as may be ſuppoſed, in order to take us in Flank, their Number being ſuperior to ours. The General, with ſeveral of his Officers, having upon this reconnoitered their deſign, immediately ordered the Front to be changed, forming our Right to the Sea, and our Left where the Front had been: This Diſpoſition diſappointed their Project of taking us in Flank; and that Part of their Army immediately countermarched——

from

from this Change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new Ground. The Night coming on, and the Enemy ſo near, we lay on our Arms, and in the Night, with a Train of ſix Pieces of ſmall Cannon, threw ſome Shot amongſt an advanced Party of theirs, who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Church-Yard of *Tranent*, that lay between their Front and ours.

The Forces under Sir *John Cope*, were Major-General *Hamilton*'s and Colonel *Gardiner*'s Dragoons; Lieutenant-General *Guiſe*'s, Colonel *Lee*'s, Colonel *Murray*'s, Colonel *Laſcelle*'s, and the Earl of *Loudon*'s Regiment of Foot; but of theſe, there was only one compleat: A great Number of Volunteers from *Edinburgh*, and other Places, offered to join them; but Sir *John Cope* refuſed their Aſſiſtance, for fear of confuſing his Men, about Three in the Morning, it being very dark, our Patroles could ſcarce perceive any Motion they made, every Thing ſeemed ſo quite: But about this Hour, the Patroles, reported them to be

be in full March, in great Silence, towards the Eaſt; at Four they reported, that they were continuing their March North-Eaſt. From this it appeared they deſigned to attack our Left-Flank with their main Body; and upon the General's being informed that this was their Intention, he ordered the Diſpoſition to be changed, by which he brought our Front to theirs, and ſecured our Flanks by ſeveral Dykes on our Right, towards *Tranent* with our Left Flank inclining to the Sea. The Moment this Diſpoſition was compleated, three large Bodies in Columns of their pick'd-out Highlanders, came on with great Swiftneſs, and the Column which was advancing towards our Right, where our Train was poſted, after receiving our Diſcharges, almoſt in an Inſtant, and before Day appear'd, ſeiz'd the Train, and threw it into the utmoſt Confuſion, a Body of about one Hundred Foot which the General had poſted there to guard it. All Endeavours, in every Shape, were tried by him, Brigadier *Fowke*, the Earls *Loudon* and *Hume*, and the Officers about them,

them, to remedy this Diſorder, but in vain. This unhappily with the Fire made (though a very irregular one) by the Highland Column on our Right, where *Gardiner's* Dragoons were placed, put that Regiment in great Diſorder, their Horſes taking Fright at the firſt Fire; however their Officers rallied them again, and as they were returning alongſide of Lord *Grange's* Park-Dyke, in order to charge again, an Ambuſcade of the Rebels gave them a ſecond Fire, which made them reel, and ride quiet off: *Hambleton's* Dragoons follow'd their Example, and went off likewiſe. The Foot not being ſupported by the Horſe, were ſurprized, and thrown into Confuſion in their Turn; they firing too ſoon, and their Bayonets not fixed, the Rebels fell furiouſly upon them, Sword in Hand, and being ſurrounded, about two Hundred of them were killed, and about one Thouſand made Priſoners: Lord *London's* Regiment being placed with General *Cope's* Baggage, as a Body of Reſerve, were fallen upon next; they behaved well, gave the Rebels a ſmart Fire

Fire which killed many of them; but being over powered by Numbers, they were obliged to ſurrender Priſoners; and the Field Pieces and Baggage were all taken. The Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*, after rallying the Dragoons, went off with them to *Lauder*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*. Brigadier *Howke* and Colonel *Lafcelles* came back to *Dunbar*, and Sir *John Cope* went to *Berwick* -- This is by ſome called the Battle of *Preſton-Pans*, from the Place near it, which takes its Name from the Number of *Salt-Pans* there; but it is more properly ſtil'd the Battle of *Glaiaſmuir*, ſince that was the Field of Battle being a wide barren Heath, about ſeven Miles Eaſt of *Edinburgh*.

Before I conclude this unfortunate Affair, I will only obſerve, that notwithſtanding our Soldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a Panniick as occaſioned them to act beneath the Dignity of the Cauſe in which they were engaged; yet it is univerſally allowed that all their Offi-

cers did their Duty, and well ſupported the Honour of that Character due to true *Britons*; in particular, it will be doing Juſtice to the Merit of the brave Colonel *Gardiner*, to ſay, that he did all that could be expected from the moſt gallant and experienc'd Officer to rally his Dragoons; but finding his utmoſt Efforts in vain; and ſeeing an Officer (who commanded the Foot) fall, the Colonel inſtantly diſmounted, ſnatch'd up a half Pike, and took upon him the Command of the Foot, at whoſe Head he fought till he was brought down by three Wounds, one in his Shoulder by a Ball, another in his Forehead by a Broad Sword, and the third, which was his mortal Stroke, in the hinder Part of his Head, by a *Lochabar* Ax, this Wound was given him by a Highlander, who came behind him, while he was reaching a Stroke at an Officer with whom he was engaged: He is regretted not only by his Friends, and thoſe of the preſent Government, but even amongſt thoſe againſt whom he fought, who agree with all others in acknowledging, that he finiſhed a wor-

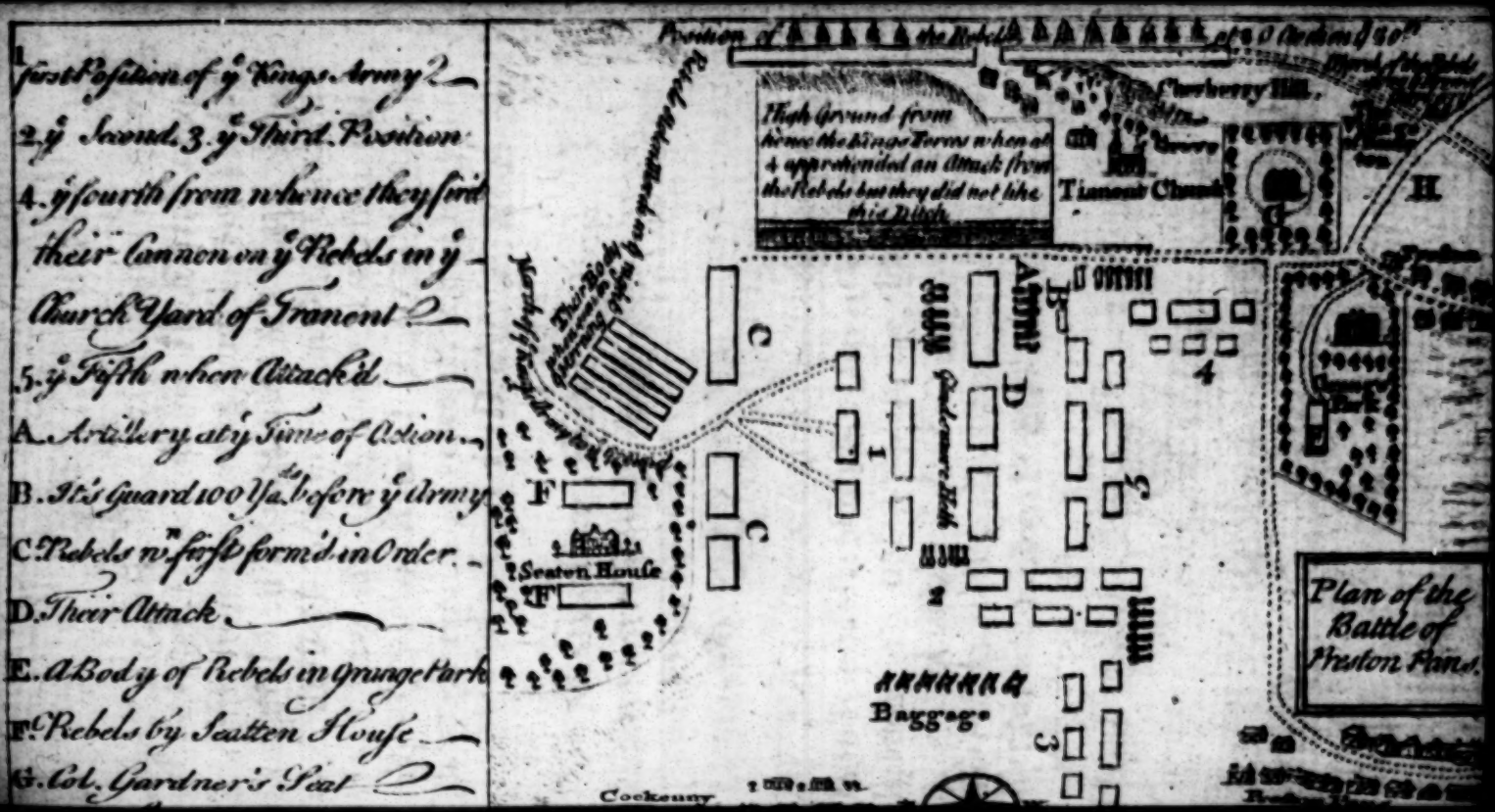
a worthy and exemplary Life, with a moſt honourable and heroick Death; for he very eaſily might have eſcaped with the reſt, if like them, he would have deſerted his Duty. He was decently interred on *Thurſday*, *Sept.* 24, in the Pariſh Church of *Tranent*, where eight of his Children lie; This fatal Action happened almoſt by the Walls of his own Seat at *Bankton*; his Lady and eldeſt Daughter, at that Time, had been left by him at *Sterling* Caſtle.

I know it will be expected, that I ſhould inform you, what were the Number on both Sides in the Action.——Of the King's Troops there were about two Thouſand eight Hundred who ſhould have fought; and the Rebels were no leſs than five Thouſand Men; and it was ſo dark when they attacked us that they could not be perceived but like a black Hedge moving forward, and the Artillery, conſiſting of ſix Pieces of Cannon, being planted all on the Right, and at ſome Diſtance from the Army, guarded only by a Hundred Men, the Rebels

were immediately poſſeſſed of them, who turn'd them on our Dragoons, at the ſame Time giving a moſt hedious and frightful Shout. The Dragoons ſeeing the Cannon in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy, and that it was to be pointed at them, thought proper to provide for themſelves by a ſudden Retreat; as knowing that,

He that fights and runs away,
May turn and fight another Day;
But he that is in Battle ſlain,
Will never riſe to fight again.

Soon as the Affair was ended, the Rebels incircled their Dead, and buried them with all Expedition to conceal their Number. The following is an exact Liſt of the Loſs ſuſtained on our Part, in this unhappy Action.


1. first Position of y^e Kings Army 2
2. y^e Second. 3. y^e Third. Position
4. y^e fourth from whence they first
their Cannon on y^e Rebels in y^e
Church Yard of Tranent
5. y^e Fifth when Attack'd
A. Artillery at y^e Time of Action
B. It's Guard 100 Foot before y^e Army
C. Rebels when first form'd in Order
D. Their Attack
E. A Body of Rebels in Grange Park
F. Rebels by Seaton House
G. Col. Gardner's Seat
Position of the Rebels
Their Right
Their Left
High Ground from
whence the Kings Forces when at
Tranent apprehended an Attack from
the Rebels but they did not like
this Ditch
Tranent Church
Cherberry Hill
Seaton House
Cockenny
Baggage
Plan of the
Battle of
Preston Pans.

A LIST *of the* OFFICERS *kill'd, wounded and taken Priſoners, at the Battle of* GLAIDSMUIR, Sept. 21, 1745.

DRAGOONS.

Colonel *GARDINER's.*

Colonel *Gardiner*, killed.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney*, wounded and Priſoner.

Lieutenant *Graſton*, Priſoner.

Cornets *Burroughs* and *Alcock*, Ditto.

Quarter-Maſter *Weſt*, Ditto.

HAMILTON's.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Wright*, wounded and Priſoner.

Major *Bowles*, Ditto.

Cornets *Jacob* and *Naſh*, Priſoners.

Quarter-Maſter *Naſh*, and Dr. *Trotte*, Ditto.

FOOT.

Colonel *LASCELLE's.*

Captain *Stuart*, killed.
Enſign *Bell* much wounded and Priſoner.
Major *Severn*, Priſoner.
Captains. *Drummond*, *Adams*, *Forreſter*, *Anderſon*, *Corbet*, and *Collier*, Do.
Lieutenants. *Swine*, *Johnſton*, *Carrick*, *Dundas* and *Herring*, Ditto.
Enſigns. *Stone*, *Cox*, *Gordon*, *Goulton*, and Dr. *Drummond*, Ditto.

Colonel *MURRAY's.*

Captain *Leſle*, wounded and Priſoner.
Enſign *Halden*, Ditto
Lieutenant-Colonel *Clayton*, Priſoner.
Major *Talbot*, Ditto.
Captains. *Reid*, *Cockran*, *Scot*, and *Blake*, Ditto
Lieutenants. *Hay*, *Cranſton*, *Dinſey*, *Wale*, *Wry* and *Simms*, Ditto.
Enſigns. *Sutherland*, *Lucey*, *Holdane*, *Birn*, *L'Eſtrange* and Adjutant *Spencer*, Ditto.

Colonel

Colonel *LEE*'s.

Captains. *Bromer* and *Rogers*, killed.
Colonel *Peter Halket*, Priſoner.
Captains. *Baſil*, *Cockran*, *Chapman* and *Tatton*, Ditto.
Lieutenants. *Sandilands*, *Drummond*, *Kennedy* and *Hewitſon*, Ditto.
Enſigns. *Hardwick*, *Archer* and *Dubmer*, Ditto
Mr *Wiſon* and Dr. *Young*, Ditto.

Lord *LOUDON*'s.

Captains. *Stuart* and *Howel*, killed.
Captains. *Mackay* and *Monro*, Priſoners.
Lieutenants. *Macnab*, and *Reid*, Ditto.
Enſigns *Grant*, *Roſs* and *Maclagan*, Ditto.
Colonel *Whiteford*, Volunteer, Priſoner.
Major *Griffith*, Maſter-Gunner of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, Ditto.

The Pretender lay at *Pinkey-Houſe* the Night after the Battle, and the next Day

Day return'd to *Holy-rood-Houſe*. That Day they carried their Mock Prince from that Palace to the High-Croſs, where they proclam'd his Father a ſecond Time *King*, and him *Regent*, with great Formality; although few or none of the Inhabitants of any Credit attended the Ceremony.

The King's *Heralds* being compell'd to it, perform'd this Office; after which they were oblig'd to read a Manifeſto, which promis'd much more than the *Scots* believ'd would be made good------ The ſame Day was iſſu'd a Proclamation, commanding all within the City, and twelve Miles round, who had any Arms, to bring them in, and deliver them at *Holy-rood-Houſe*; and all who had any Horſes of his Majeſty's Dragoons, to ſend them to the Camp at *Didiſton*, under Pain of Military Execution. The next Day another Proclamation was read at the publick Croſs, by which all who had taken Arms Clergy or others were declar'd *Rebels*, if, in ſo many Days, they did not make their Submiſſion which

which occaſion'd all the Clergy to deſert the City, and was the true Reaſon of divine Service being ſuſpended, during the Time it was poſſeſs'd by the Rebels; notwithſtanding Mr *Neal M'Vicar* continu'd to perform divine Service as uſual: On which the Pretender ſent a Meſſenger, requiring that he ſhould pray for *him*, and forbid him to mention King GEORGE in his Prayers; yet Mr *M'Vicar* pray'd for the Royal Family as uſual; but in mentioning his Majeſty, he ſaid, *Bleſs the* KING: *Thou knows what* KING *I mean*; *may the Crown ſit long eaſy on his Head*, &c. *And for this* Man *that is come amongſt Us to ſeek an Earthly Crown, we beſeech Thee, in Mercy, to take him to thy Self, and give him a Crown of Glory.* At this Time the Rebels had taken Poſſeſſion of the Cuſtom-houſe of *Leith*, in which were Seizures to a great Amount; which they ſold to the Smugglers, from whom they had been taken, and to none elſe, for one third Part of the real Value.

The

The Pretender demanded of the City of *Edinburgh* 6000 Pair of Shoes, 2000 Targets, and 1000 Tents, to be made with all Expedition; to be paid when the Troubles were over. ----

He then publiſh'd ſeveral Declarations to recall all Gentlemen and Tradeſmen, who had left the Town, to their Houſes and Occupations therein; to order all Farmers and Husbandmen to repair to the Markets as uſual; to command all Countrymen within the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, to be ready at twelve Hours Warning, with Carriages in Proportion to their Plough, for the Conveyance of Equipage, *&c.*

The next Act of his mock Government was, to order all the Receivers of publick Offices, Stewards of Counties, Boroughs, *&c.* to make up their Accounts immediately, and to pay him the Ballance that remain'd in their Hands.

He

He levied a Contribution of 2000 *l.* on the Earl of *Hopton* beſides his uſual Land-Tax; ſeiz'd on the *York-Buildings* Eſtate, formerly the Earl of *Wintoun's*, and made the Tenants pay Half-a-Crown in the Pound of their Rent.

A Proclamation was iſſu'd for the Citizens to withdraw the Caſh, or Money-Banks from the Caſtle, and carry on their Buſineſs as uſual; but they being diſregarded, another immediately followed; forbidding the furniſhing the Caſtle with Proviſions on Pain of Death: In Anſwer to which, General *Gueſt* gave the Citizens to underſtand, that he would lay the Town in Aſhes, to clear a Paſſage for the receiving Supplies, and adviſ'd them to provide for their perſonal Safety by the next Morning.

The Rebels having plac'd Guards at all the Avenues leading to the Caſtle, began to fire upon it, but were ſoon ſilenc'd by the Garriſon. General *Gueſt's* Threats occaſion'd the Chiefs of the City to apply to the Pretender, to take a proper

per Method to prevent their threaten'd Ruin: He thereupon wrote to the Governor of the Caſtle and a Truce was concluded for ſix Days; during which Time the Caſtle was ſuffer'd to receive Proviſions from the City and Country; which Space being elaps'd, the Fire began on both Sides with great Fury: During this Interval, the Rebels not liking to be idle, divided themſelves into ſmall Parties, and went ſeveral Ways into the Country, pilfering and ſtealing all they could lay Hands on. A large Party of them got to Lord *Somerville's* Houſe, and had begun to plunder it, but the Alarm Bell being rung, a great Number of Colliers came out of the Coal Pits, attack'd the Rebels, kill'd ſome of them, and took others Priſoners, whom they carried with them into the Pits: Another Party went to the Earl of *Stair's*, where they pillag'd the Houſe and carried off all the Cattle. Six of them one Night broke into a Houſe (the Gentleman's Name I forgot) near *Kerntouloch*, ſix Miles from *Edinburgh*, a very mortified Gentleman, remarkable for his great Charity,

Charity, Piety and abſtemious Life who lay every Night in his Coffin and Winding Sheet: The *Highlanders* having ſecur'd what Arms, were in the Houſe, ſet a Guard on the Servants, and pack'd up all the Plate and Linnen they thought they could carry off The Chamber where Mr —— lay, was without Furniture, and the laſt they viſited as they were going off, having lock'd the Servants in a Room; ſeeing, the Coffin, they concluded a Corpſe was inclos'd in it, and that it might have a good Winding-Sheet thought it would be a Pity to leave it behind them; they therefore, with a Deſign of taking what the dead Man would never miſs, remov'd the Lid off the Coffin; on which Mr —— raiſing himſelf up, they were ſtruck with ſuch a Panick at his goſtly Appearance, and imagining that the Devil had taken Poſſeſſion of the Corpſe, and that he would have them next, they all took to their Heels, and Mr —— running after them to the Door, at their ruſhing out faſten'd it upon them, though the Precaution was needleſs; for they fearing

the Devil would take the Hindermoſt, never look'd back, or ſlacken'd their Pace until out of Sight of the Houſe; their Terror was ſo great that they left all their Plunder behind, and Mr —— loſt no individual Thing.

The main Body of the Rebels, after the Battle, ſtay'd about *Diddiſten* and *Muſſelburgh* two Days, and on the 24th return'd to *Edinburgh*: On the 28th and 29th, they ſent the Priſoners to *Perth*, *Drummond* Caſtle, &c.

Sometime after this, a hundred and ten Highlanders of Lord *Loudon*'s Regiment, who were made Priſoners at the Battle of *Gladſmuir*, on their Petition, were ſet at Liberty by the Rebels, on ſwearing not to carry Arms againſt the *Chevalier*. About this Time two Hundred more of our Soldiers, who had been taken Priſoners at the ſame Place, made their Eſcape, and join'd thoſe under the Command of General *Blakeney*, at *Sterling* Caſtle,

On

On the 30th they ſent out Parties to *Haddington* and *Dunbar*, and began again to take their Meaſures for cutting off the Communication between the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and the City; which conſidering they had no heavy Artillery, was a wild Attempt. On the 1ſt of *October* they open'd their Trenches on the Caſtle Hill, a little below the Reſervoir; upon which they began to fire upon them from the Caſtle, kill'd three Men and wounded a commanding Officer, ſo that by four in the Afternoon they abandon'd their Works; on which two hundred Men from the Garriſon ſallied out and took Poſſeſſion of them, and with their Fire clear'd the *High-ſtreet* which is ſaid to contain more People than any Street in *London*; yet there was not a Perſon then to be ſeen in it: The Weigh-houſe in which the Rebels kept their Guard, was ſet on fire by the Artillery from the Caſtle ſo that the Citizens apprehending the entire Demolition of their Metropolis, left the City, and flying for Safety to *Leith*, met in their Way the Inhabitants of that

Town flying for Shelter to *Edinburgh*; for the Rebels being in Poſſeſſion of *Leith*, and prohibeting Proviſions being carried to the *Fox* Man of War lying in the Road, ſhe fir'd furiouſly upon that Town ſo that the diſtreſs'd Citizens and Townſmen knew not where to find Refuge.

The Rebels had erected a Battery againſt the North-Weſt Side of the Caſtle near Mr *M' Vicar's* Church (who made the remarkable Prayer already taken Notice of) and fir'd from thence but were ſoon ſilenc'd by the Fire from the Caſtle, which beat down a Houſe, where Captain *Taylor*, a Shoemaker liv'd, (who had promis'd to preſent the *Pretender* with the Keys of the Caſtle) and ſeveral other Rebels; many of whom were kill'd, and thoſe who eſcap'd (among whom was the ſaid *Taylor* were taken by a Party of the Garriſon, who flung themſelves down with Ropes, and with the ſame hoiſted up their Priſoners: Thus the Captain took Poſſeſſion of this Fortreſs, though he could not find the Keys

to

to make good his Promiſe. The Rebels plotted ſeveral Ways to ſurprize the Caſtle, and had once almoſt got it by Treachery; for one of the Centinels had undertaken to betray it, but was luckily ſeiz'd with his Ropes, Letter of Inſtructions, &c about him; and afterwards none but Men of Character were poſted within the Draw-bridge.

The City of *Glaſgow* was ſummon'd a ſecond Time, and 15,000*l.* demanded by way of Contribution, but were conſtrain'd to compound for 5000 Guineas, which was directly paid.

Hoſtilities continu'd betwixt the Garriſon of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and the Rebels till the 5th in the Evening, when ſeveral Houſes being beat down by the Artillery, and the Rebels having loſt twenty Men, in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garriſon from the Caſtle-hill, the Communication betwixt the Town and the Caſtle was reſtor'd, and Hoſtilities ceas'd On the 7th the Rebels demanded Half-a-Crown in the Pound from the

Landlords of Houſes in *Edinburgh*, and began to have ſome Thoughts of quitting the Place, finding the Fortreſs impregnable, both againſt their Forces and *French* Bribery, which has been elſewhere ſo perſuaſive, that ſome, thought to be the moſt ſteady Patriots, of their Country, have ſold their Faith and Honour for *Louis d'Ors.*

The Rebels one Night broke into the Houſe of Mr *Thomas Areskine*, an eminent Brewer, and a Preacher among the People call'd Quakers, and one of my Acquaintance. He has ſince ſhew'd me the Drawers which they broke, and robb'd him of all the Money he had then in the Houſe, with ſome Linnen and other Things of Value: Upon which great Injuſtice, the fair dealing Quaker makes his Application to their Prince, aſſuring him, *That the Method he purſu'd would never proſper, or anſwer his Expectation; for*, ſaid he, *our* GEORGE *takes only a Part of our Money, but Thou even verily, takes all; and Thou may'ſt as well take my Life, as take away the*

the Prop that ſupports it. Upon which Complaint the Highland Prince anſwered, *That he (*Mr *Areskine, was many Years in Debt to the Revenue of his Father's Exciſe, and it was but the proper Dues to his Government.*

On the 14th the Rebels receiv'd conſiderable Reinforcements, headed by old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, *Forbes*,——— Lord *Pitſligo* Lord *Kilmarnock*, and others, there likewiſe receiv'd from abroad Supplies of Ammunition, ſmall Arms, Field Pieces Military Stores, &c. There was one Mr *Boyer* came over at the ſame Time, whom they were pleas'd to dignify with the Title of Ambaſſador. About the 20th a great Part of their Army march'd to *Dalkeith*, to which Place they remov'd their Field Pieces and Ammunition, and having erected a Battery at *Alloway*, to ſecure the Paſſage of the *Firth*, they tranſported from *Montroſs*, *Stonehive*, and other Places, the Supplies they had receiv'd from Abroad.

About

About the latter End of *October*, the Mock Prince came to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, where he caus'd the Palace belonging to the Duke of *Buccleugh*, ſaid to be one of the moſt magnificent Seats in *Scotland*, to be fitted up for his Reception, and there fix'd his Head Quarters, which lay convenient for ſending Spies to ſee what was doing in the North of *England*; where he had but cool Incouragement ſome refuſing to read his Letters, and ſeveral of his Emiſſaries were ſeiz'd at *Newcaſtle*, *Berwick* &c But notwithſtanding this, Meaſures were taken for marching Southward and happy was it for us that they ſtay'd ſo long with their Friends at *Edinburgh*; for had the Rebels flush'd with Victory follow'd their Blow, whilſt the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects were diſmay'd by General *Cope's* Defeat, and very few diſciplin'd Troops in *England*, it is hard to ſay what would have been the Conſequence; by which it appears, that an over-ruling Providence retarded them.

On

On the 6th of *October* one *Hixton*, who kept an Inn at *Perth*, was taken up at *Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne*, as a Spy, who thereupon cut his own Throat, tho' not mortally. On ſearching him, a Letter, or rather Paper of Inſtructions, was found in the Top of one of his Gloves, of which the following is a Copy, *viz.*

YOU are hereby authorized and directed to repair forthwith to England, *and there to certify to my Friends, and particularly thoſe in the North-Weſt, the wonderful Succeſs, with which it hath pleaſed* GOD *to favour my Endeavours for their Deliverance; You are hereby to let them know, that 'tis my full Intention, in a few Days, to move forwards to them, and they will be inexcuſable before* GOD *and Man, if they do not do all in their Power to aſſiſt and ſupport me in ſuch an Undertaking. What I depend upon and expect is, that as many of them as can, ſhould take Care to provide Proviſions and Money, that the County may ſuffer as little as poſſible by the March of my Troops; let them know there is no more Time*

Time for Deliberation; Now or Never *is the Word. I am reſolved to conquer or periſh in the Attempt: If the laſt ſhould happen, let them conſider what they and their Poſterity have to expect.*

Sign'd, *CHARLES* P. R.

About this Time, his Majeſty had been pleas'd to appoint Field Marſhal *Wade* to be Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North, and our Forces began to move that Way; the *Dutch* were landed at *Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne*, as alſo Part of our *Britiſh* Forces from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albermarle*. At that Time the *Tryal* Sloop brought into *Briſtol* a *French* Ship, on board of which were five thouſand Fuſils with Bayonets, one hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, and ſeven Cheſts of Money, &c. deſign'd for the Uſe of the Rebels.

At *Briſtol*, on the 11th of *October*, the Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, &c. aſſembled at the *Guildhall*, when the Duke of *Newcaſtle*'s Letter was publickly read

read, authorizing the Magiſtrates, by Command of his Majeſty, to call the City to Arms, and Officer them at Diſcretion; intimating, that his Majeſty was highly pleas'd with the Zeal and Unanimity of ſo conſiderable a Body of his Subjects: After this was read, the Aſſociation which the loyal Citizens had ſo readily enter'd into, when the Mayor in the Name of the Chamber, ſubſcrib'd the Sum of 10,000 *l.* and the Maſter of the united Company of Merchants 5000 *l.* for that Society; which was follow'd by the ſingle Subſcriptions of the whole Bench of Magiſtrates, and a great Number of other principal Citizens, ſome of whom ſubſcrib'd 500, 300, 200, 100, 50 *l.* *&c.* Such a noble Spirit and Reſolution had diffus'd itſelf throughout that opulent City, as well redound to its laſting Honour.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire* was one of the firſt that rais'd Men for his Majeſty, who arm'd and kept them at his Seat at *Chatſworth*, on his own Expence; and when the Rebels came for-

forward, join'd the County Regiments: He alſo ſent to *Derby*, and rais'd the *Peake* Miners who deſtroy'd the Turnpikes from *Whaley* to *Baxton*; the ſpoiling thoſe Roads prevented the Rebels from marching that Way; and the *Derbyſhire* Regiment proved of the ſignal Service in keeping the Country quiet.

By this Time the Militia in the Northern Counties were rais'd; Aſſociations and voluntary Contributions were ſet on Foot in moſt Parts of the Kingdom; and in the County of *York* particularly. Through the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were rais'd, cloath'd and diſciplin'd, at the Expence of the County: *William Thornton*, Eſq; alſo rais'd and maintain'd, at his own Expence, a Company, and march'd them into *Scotland*. There was likewiſe a large Body of Gentlemen Volunteers, well mounted, who appear'd under Arms, ſerv'd at their own Expence, and put themſelves under the Command of Major-General

Ogle-

Oglethorpe, ſtil'd the *Royal Hunter*; ſo that there was an Army form'd in the North of *England* of fourteen thouſand Men. At the ſame Time a conſiderable Body was form'd in the North Highlands of *Scotland*, by the Care and Vigilance of the Lord *Ray*, Lord *Sutherland* and *Duncan Forbes*, Eſq; Lord Preſident of the Court of Seſſions, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Zeal and Loyalty, in granting Commiſſions for raiſing Independent Companies; which were all put under the Command of Lord *London*, for the Security of *Inverneſs*, *Fort-William*, and other Garriſons there Thoſe Companies much retarded the Increaſe of the Rebels, which, together with other Military Preparations join'd to a true Spirit of Loyalty, that in a diſtinguiſhing Manner flow'd through the Nation, no Dought, was a great Chagrin and Diſappointment to the Diſaffected, and was the Cauſe of Drawing off many that went to *Edinburgh* to join the Chevalier. Thoſe Troops, tho' they did not enter into immediate Service, yet they ſhew'd the Spirit of the

Nation, protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and kept the Rebels under a manifeſt Reſtraint for ſome Time.

November 1. The Pretender ſent off his Baggage and Ammunition, in about one hundred and fifty Carts, and about the ſame Number of Sumpter-Horſes, eſcorted by two Detachments, the one by *Pennycock*, and the other by *Lone-Head*, both on the Way to *Peebles* and *Carliſle*, and were follow'd by the whole Army in three Columns. At this Time he who ſtil'd himſelf the Duke of *Perth*, had the Title of General; Lord *George Murray*, Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Weems*, commanded the Pretender's Life Guards the Earl of *Kilmarnock* acted as Colonel of the *Huſſars*; and Lord *Pitſligo* had the Command of the *Angus* Horſe: But though, in regard to their Intereſt, theſe People were honour'd with ſuch high Commands, yet it was known that the Pretender confided moſt in a few that came over with him. At the Head of his Council were Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an

Iriſh

Iriſh Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity, and who had been long about him; Colonel *Sullivan*, who acted as Enginer; General *Macdonald*, an *Iriſh* Officer, who was his Aid de Camp; Mr *Kelly*, that was ſo long in the Tower, on the Affair of the late Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and Mr *Murray*, who acted as Secretary.

As Mr *Sullivan* was a Perſon the moſt concern'd of any in the Rebellion, and whoſe Councils the Pretender chiefly relied on, I thought the following Character, remitted to me by a Friend, might not be diſagreeable.

'He is by Birth an *Iriſhman*, and 'was educated in a *Romiſh* College a-'broad, where he had enter'd into 'Prieſt's Orders: He had afterwards the 'good Fortune to be recommended to 'Marſhal *Maillebois*, of whom he was 'retain'd as a Domeſtick Tutor to his 'Son. The Marſhal perceiving in him 'ſome Symptoms of a Genius better a-'dapted to the Sword than the Gown,

‘ encourag'd him rather to apply himſelf
‘ to the former than the latter Profeſſion,
‘ which he did with ſuch Succeſs, that
‘ having attended his Maſter to *Corſica*,
‘ when the *French* deſign'd to deprive
‘ thoſe poor People of their Liberties,
‘ he acted as his Secretary. The Mar-
‘ ſhal was a *Bon Vivant*, and uſed to
‘ get drunk every Day after Dinner;
‘ this made him for the greateſt Part of
‘ the Day incapable of Buſineſs; during
‘ which Time, the whole Power de-
‘ volv'd on *Sullivan*, who executed it
‘ in ſuch a Manner, as to do great Ho-
‘ nour both to himſelf and Maſter; hav-
‘ ing here again a very high Military
‘ Reputation, as well as much Know-
‘ ledge in what is the Art of making ir-
‘ regular War; He afterwards ſerv'd
‘ two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, and the
‘ other on the *Rhine*; in which latter
‘ Campaign, a *French* General giving
‘ a Character of him, ſaid, that he un-
‘ derſtood the irregular Art of War better
‘ than any Man in *Europe*; nor was his
‘ Knowledge in the Regular much infe-
‘ rior to that of the beſt General. To

‘ the

'the Abilities of this Man we may juſtly 'attribute the Succeſs, with which a 'Handful of *Banditti* have ſo long been 'able, to over-run and plunder a great 'Part of this large and populous Na-'tion.' On the 6th their advanc'd Guard enter'd into *England*.

It may perhaps be expected that I ſhould give ſome Account of the young Pretender himſelf, and his Behaviour among his People. What I have been able to collect on this Head, take as follows:

'His Dreſs was a Highland Garb of 'fine Silk Tartan, red Velvet Breeches, 'and a blue Velvet Bonnet, with Gold 'Lace round it; on his Breaſt a large 'Jewel with St *Andrew* appended; is 'about ſix Feet high; walks well and 'ſtreight, and ſpeaks both *Engliſh* and 'broad *Scotch* very well. For a while 'he affected to imitate the Example of '*Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, marching all 'the Day on Foot, and every River 'they were to croſs, he was the firſt

'Man that leap'd into it; he din'd with
'his Soldiers in the open Field, and
'ſlept on the Ground, wrapp'd in his
'Plaid; at this Time the Weather was
'warm This Courſe of Life he fol-
'low'd for ſome Time but his *Italian*
'Conſtitution not being enur'd to ſuch
'Kind of Hardſhips, after his Arrival
'at *Edinburgh*, he indulg'd himſelf in
'all the Conveniences he could procure
'for his Eaſe and Pleaſure.'

Thus having given a particular and ſuccinct Narrative of the moſt material Tranſactions that happen'd during the Progreſs of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, and trac'd the Rebels to the Borders of *England*, I ſhall for a while leave them, and proceed to mention, at this critical Conjucture, what was doing in *Ireland*, where it is well known, that a great Number of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom are Profeſs'd Papiſts; however by the Care of the Government, in erecting Proteſtant Schools many of them have got their Eyes open, and are at length come to the Knowlege of Truth,

Truth, and what conſequently tends to their true Intereſt, notwithſtanding the artful Endeavours of their bigotted Prieſts to keep them in Ignorance and ſtupid Blindneſs: Add to this, the Unanimity which at all Times, but more eſpecially then, appear'd among the Proteſtants, who, in general, expreſs'd the moſt unſhaken Zeal and Affection to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the utmoſt Abhorrence and Deteſtation of the unnatural Rebellion, and glaring Inſolence, which had broke out in *Scotland*: The News of which was no ſooner confirm'd, but an Aſſociation was immediately form'd and recommended to be ſign'd, by all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects of every County in *Ireland*; a Copy of which is as follows:

'WHEREAS a Rebellion is raiſed in *North-Briton* by the eldeſt Son of the Pretender, againſt our rightful Sovereign K. *George* II to ſubvert our Religion and Liberties, and to entail Poverty and Slavery upon us, and

'our

'our Poſterity: We his Majeſty's true 'Proteſtant Subjects in the County of '——, having the utmoſt Deſtation of ſo 'horrid an Attempt, do hereby in the 'moſt ſolemn Manner Vow to Almighty 'God, and do Pledge our Faith and 'Honour to one another, that we will, 'every one of us, to the utmoſt of our 'Power, and at the Hazard of our 'Lives and Fortunes oppoſe all Attempts 'againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Go-'vernment; and particularly that abo-'minable and unnatural Rebellion now 'carried on in Favour of a *Popiſh Pre-'tender*: And we do hereby promiſe and 'engage from Time to Time, whenever 'it may be neceſſary, to concert and 'execute Meaſure, for affecting the 'Purpoſe of this our Aſſociation, the De-'fence of ourſelves, our Religion and 'Liberties, againſt *Popery*, *France*, and 'Arbitrary Power.'

September, 17, a Proclamation was iſ-ſued by the Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*, offering a Reward of 50,000 l. for ap-prehending the *Pretender* and his *eldeſt Son*,

Son, or either of them, that ſhall attempt to land in *Ireland*. Meaſures were concerted for raiſing ſeveral Independent Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to be as well train'd and diſciplin'd as the regular Forces; ſo that there was quickly rais'd an Army of ſixty-five thouſand Men, who were well cloathed, arm'd and diſciplin'd, and many of them march'd to ſuch Places as it was judg'd they might be of the moſt Service in. There were ſent to them from *England* ſeveral thouſand Muskets for the Uſe of ſuch of the Militia as had not any of their own. Thoſe early Military Preparations, joined with excellent Admonitions of well-affected Perſons, had ſo good a Tendency, that not the leaſt Signs of Diſſaffection appear'd amongſt them. What contributed not a little to the quiet Behaviour of the *Papiſts* in *Ireland* at this Time, was the following Letter in the Style of that true Patriot and Friend to his Country, Dr *Swift*, Dean of St. *Patrick's*, wrote in a plain and pathetick Style, and ſo full of Conviction, that whoever reads it, though a *Pa-*

piſt

piſt, ever ſo much bigotted to his own Principles, muſt ſee Truth and Reaſon run through every Line and Sentence of it.

The DRAPER's LETTER *to the good* People *of* Ireland; *particularly to the poor* Papiſts.

'*My Dear Countrymen*,

'IT is now ſome Time ſince I trou-
'bled you with my Advice; and
'as I am growing old and infirm, I
'was in good Hopes to be quietly laid
'in my Grave, before any Occaſion of-
'fered of addreſſing you again: But my
'Affection for you, which does not de-
'cay, tho' my poor Body does, obliges
'me once more to put you in Mind of
'your true Intereſt, that you may not
'unwarily run yourſelves into Danger
'and Diſtreſs for Want of underſtand-
'ing, or ſeriouſly conſidering it I have
'many Reaſons to believe, that there
'are not a few among you, who ſecret-
'ly rejoice at the Rebellion which is
'now raiſed in *Scotland*; and, perhaps,

'con-

conceive Hopes of ſome Alteration for the better in their Circumſtances and Condition, if it ſhould ſucceed. Such miſtaken People it is my Deſign to talk to in my Letter and I deſire nothing more of them, than to give me a fair Hearing; examining cooly with themſelves, whether what I ſhall ſay be true. It is no Objection to my ſpeaking to them, that they are generally Papiſts. I do not know how other People are diſpoſed, but for my Part, I hate no Man for his Religion; I look upon a Papiſt as my Countryman and Neighbour, tho' I happen myſelf to be a Proteſtant; and if I know what Advice is good for him, I can ſee no Reaſon why I ſhould not give it him, or why he ſhould not take it. A Papiſt has Senſe, I ſuppoſe, like other Men, to ſee his Intereſt and Advantage, and the ſame natural Deſire to embrace it where he finds it; and if I can ſhew him where it lies, he will not, I believe, kick it from him, barely to ſpite a Proteſtant. I have nothing to ſay to the Popiſh

'Gen-

'Gentry of this Kingdom; they would 'hardly take ſuch a plain Man's Ad-'vice; and beſides, they have ſo many 'Ways of coming off themſelves, tho' 'the poor People were undone, that I 'need not be concern'd for them. My 'Care is for the common People, the 'Labourers, Farmers Artificers, and 'Tradeſmen of this Nation, who are in 'Danger of being deluded by their Bet-'ters, and made Tools to ſerve their 'Purpoſes, without any Advantage to 'themſelves. It is poſſible, that among 'the Lords and Eſquires, one, perhaps 'of a Hundred, would get ſomething 'by a Chance: Places and Employ-'ments would be promiſed them, no 'Doubt; and a few of thoſe Promiſes, 'perhaps the *French* and *Scotch* Friends 'of the Pretender might give him leave 'to keep; but, what are the poorer 'ſort the better all this while? Will 'the Labourer get one Farthing a Day 'more? will the Farmers Rent be al-'lowed? will the Artificer be more 'employed, or better paid; will the 'Tradeſmen get more Cuſtomers, or

'have

'have fewer Scores in his Book? I 'have been bred in a careful Way of 'Life and never ventured upon any 'Project, without consulting my Pillow 'firſt, how much I ſhould be a Gainer 'by the Upſhot: I wiſh my dear Coun-'trymen would do ſo too; and before 'they grow fond of Change, ask them-'ſelves this ſober Queſtion, Whether it 'would better their Condition if it were 'really brought about? If it would not, 'to what purpoſe ſhould they wiſh it? 'If the poor Labourer, when all is over, 'is to be a Labourer ſtill, and earn his 'Groat a Day, as hardly as he did before 'I cannot find why he ſhould fancy 'it worth his while to venture a Leg or 'an Arm, and the Gallows too into the 'Bargain, to be juſt where he ſet out: 'If he muſt dig and delve, when the 'Pretender is ſettled on the Throne, he 'had as good ſtick to it now, for any 'Difference I can ſee.

'I believe my Countrymen are not ſo 'mad as to imagine, that the Pretender 'can or will give every one of them

 'Eſtates;

‘ Eſtates; and I am ſure if he does
‘ not, they can only be where they were.
‘ If a Farmer muſt pay his Rent, I ſee
‘ no Reaſon that he ſhould be much
‘ concer ed, whether he pays it to one
‘ Man or to another, His Papiſt Land-
‘ lord will I ſuppoſe, demand it as ſoon
‘ and as ſtinctly as a Proteſtant ; and if
‘ he does not pay it, ſeizes his Cattle, or
‘ diſtrain his Goods, as readily at leaſt,
‘ as a Proteſtant I have not obſerved
‘ that Tenants of Popiſh Landlords wear
‘ tighter Cloaths, ride better Cattle, or
‘ ſpend more Money at Markets and
‘ Fairs, then Tenants on Proteſtants Eſ-
‘ tates; therefore I cannot believe that
‘ they are any better uſed; no. the con-
‘ trary, I know, from long Experience,
‘ that there is more Money taken in my
‘ Shop from Proteſtant Tenants than
‘ from Popiſh; and therefore, I ſuppoſe,
‘ that generally ſpeaking, they are in
‘ better Circumſtances. I wiſh that all
‘ of them had better Bargains; but ſince
‘ they will not be mended by the beſt
‘ Succeſs that their own Hearts could
‘ wiſh to the Pretender, they may as well

‘ be

be quite, and make the beſt of ſuch as they have already.

'There is not a more fooliſh Trade than fighting for nothing; and I hope my good Countrymen will be too wiſe to be perſuaded into it. Fine Speeches, and fair Promiſes, will not be wanting to delude them; but let them remember the Warning I now give them, that when all is over the very beſt that can befall them, is to have their Labour for their Pains.

'I doubt not but you are told that you will be made; and I do not expect that you will take my Word to the contrary. I deſire only that you will truſt the Underſtanding that GOD has given you, and not to be fooled out of your Senſes. Will the Manufacturer be made by an entire Stop to Buſineſs; or the Tradeſman by being obliged to ſhut up his Shop? And yet you all muſt know, that in a Civil War no Work can be carried on, nor any Trade go forwards. I

'hope you are not yet ſo ſtupid, as to
'think that People will build Houſes,
'buy rich Furniture, or make up fine
'Cloaths, when we are all together by
'the Ears, and no Body can tell to
'whoſe Share they will fall at laſt.
'And if there be no Buyers you can
'have no Employ. Merchants will not
'ſtock themſelves with Goods, when
'there is no Demand for them, to
'have their Shops rifled, and their Store-
'houſes broke open, and plundered by
'one Side or the other. —— —Indeed,
'my good Friends and Countrymen,
'let deſigning People ſay what they
'pleaſe, if you enter into their Schemes,
'you will be ruined in the Struggle,
'let it end which way it will; and it
'well deſerves your Thought, whether
'it is worth your while to beggar your-
'ſelves and Families, that the Man's
'Name upon the Throne be *James* in-
'ſtead of *George*; you will probably
'ſee neither of them while you live,
'nor be one Penny the richer for one
'or for the other; and if you take
'my Advice, you will accordingly not
'trouble

trouble your Heads about them, but peaceable. Follow your own Business while you have any; and if your Business is put a Stop to, you will find out those your Enemies who are the Cause of it.

'You may think it a fine thing when you get drunk over your Ale, to throw up your Caps and cry, *Long live King* James! But it would be a wise Thing to think how you'll live yourselves, after you are beggar'd in his Cause. Will he make good your Losses? Pay one Man for the Plundering of his Warehouse, and another for the Rifling of his Shop? Will he give you Money, think you to release your own and your Wives Cloaths, which you must pawn for Bread, when no Work is stirring? Will he buy new Looms and Tackle for you, because yours have been burn'd or destroy'd? If you fancy so, you are strangely imposed upon indeed; he will have other Things to do with his Money, or if he had any to spare,

'there will be hungry *Frenchmen* enough 'about him to ſnap it up, before it 'comes to you. I will not ſay any 'thing to you about the Dangers of a 'Civil War, tho' they are very dread-'ful, and more horrid than you can 'poſſibly imagine, becauſe I cannot 'think that there is any need of it. I 'have ſhewn you very plainly that if 'you ſhould be deluded to take up Arms 'for the Diſturbers of your Quiet, you 'fight for leſs than nothing, for the un-'doing of yourſelves and Families: And 'if this Argument will not prevail upon 'you, that GOD will be pleaſed to re-'ſtore you to the right Uſe of your Un-'derſtandings.

'*I am*

'*Your old faithful Friend,*

'The DRAPER.

this Time Field Marſhal *Wade*, [illegible] ps under his Com-

mand,

mand, were encamped at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*; by which Means, with the Care and Vigilance of ſome of the neighbouring Gentlemen, and of the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants of *Newcaſtle*, the Town and adjacent Country were preſerved from falling a Prey to the Rebels, and obliged them to make their Way into the Weſtern Road, to which their Chiefs at firſt ſeemed leaſt inclin'd. The Rigour of the Seaſon, the ſecond Marches, &c. occaſioned a Flux amongſt the Soldiers, which retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for ſome Time; but good Quarters, proper Refreſhments, and an extraordinary Care of the Officers ſoon overcame thoſe Difficulties.

November the 9th, the Rebel Army appeared on a Moor two Miles diſtant from *Carliſle*, on whom the Garriſon began to Fire, and continued it briskly for ſome Time: the Pretender took up his Quarters at Mr *Lowrey*'s of *Blackwell*, from which on the 10th, he diſpatched a Meſſenger, to whom he gave

two

two Guineas, with a Letter to the Garrison, which was received in at the *Sally-Port*; the Summons was as follows.

CHARLES, Prince of Wales, *Regent of the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland France *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions hereto belonging:*

Being to recover the King our Father's just Rights, for which we are sorry to find that you are prepared to obstruct our Passage: We, therefore to avoid the Effusion of English *Blood, hereby require you to open your Gates, and let us enter as we desire in a peaceable Manner; which, if you do we shall take Care to preserve you from any Insult, and set an Example to all* England, *of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our Father's Declarations and our own. But, if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the dreadful Consequences which*

usually

uſually attend a Town being taken by Aſſault. Conſider ſeriouſly of this, and let me have your Anſwer within the Space of two Hours, for we ſhall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refuſal, and take our Meaſures accordingly.

CHARLES, *P. R.*

November 10. 1745:
Two in the Afternoon.

For the Garriſon *of* Carliſle.

On which the Garriſon thought proper to confine the Meſſenger, and returned no other Anſwer but from the Mouths of their Cannon.

On the 12th the Pretender drew off his Army, and marched them to *Brampton*, ſeven Miles diſtant from *Carliſle* * In

* *Carliſle*, in the Foreſt of *Inglewood*, in the Metropolis of the County of *Cumberland*; it has a pleaſant Situation, being bounded on the North by the large River *Eden*, over which is a fine Stone Bridge of nine Arches, from which is *Scotch Street*, leading to the *Scotch Gate* of the City: On the South by the *Peterel*; the Suburbs on that Side are called *Butcherby*, leading to the *Engliſh*

In Point of Force at the Time of the late Rebellion, there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, who were about 1600 Men,

---

Engliſh Gate; and on the Weſt by the River *Caude* or *Cauda*, which Name the Suburbs bear, leading to the *Iriſh Gate*: And beſides thoſe natural Fences it is fortified with a ſtrong Wall and Caſtle, ſaid to be firſt built by one *Luel* an eminent *Britiſh* King, who was Prince of the County before the *Romans* Time, and from him called *Caer Luel* i. e. *Luel's* Town, to which it retrains an Affinity of Sound. It was a flouriſhing City in the Time of the *Romans*, after whoſe Departure it was ruined by the *Caledonians*, &c. but in 680 *Egfrid* rebuilt it, and walled it round, and afterwards being almoſt ruined by the repeated Incurſions, of the *Danes*, it lay about 200 Years in Ruins, till *William Rufus* rebuilt it; and planted a Colony of Southern *Engliſh* in it; to which Colony the firſt Tillage ever known thereabout is by all Records aſcribed; He is ſaid likewiſe, by *Camden*, to have enlarged the Caſtle, and fortified it with a ſtrong Fortreſs, as it now ſtands in the North-Weſt Corner of the Town. Almoſt in the Middle of the City ſtands the Cathedral Church, the upper Part of which (being new) is a curious Piece of Workmanſhip, built by King *Henry* VIII. but the lower Part is much more ancient. King *Henry* I. erected it into an Epiſcopal See, *Anno* 1133, out of the Dioceſes of *York* and

Men, beſides the Inhabitants, and eighty Invalids in the Caſtle; Colonel *Durand* was at that Time Governour of the Caſtle, which was well ſupplied with Ammunition, partly from *Whitehaven*: They might likewiſe have been well ſtored with Proviſions, as being in a plentiful

---

and *Durham*, and beſtowed many Privileges on it, which were much augmented by his Succeſſors. In the lower Weſt Part of the Town is the Parochial Church, as old as St. *Cuthbert*, after whom it is called, King Henry VIII. alſo fortified this City againſt the *Scots*, and built an additional Caſtle or Fortreſs on the South-Eaſt Side, near the *Engliſh Gate*. The City has three Gates, which I have already named; and the Walls round it are now ſo thick that three Men may walk a-breſt on them within the Parapet, which is well planted with Cannon. This City has given the Title of Earl to the *Howard's* Family ever ſince the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. It is the Key to *England* on the Weſt Sea, as *Berwick* is on the Eaſt Sea; it's a wealthy populous Place, having a good Thorough-Fare and Inland Trade: The Houſes are moſt of them well built, and the Streets neatly paved; and is a Sea-Port, but without Ships or Merchants. It is ſituated in Longitude 21 Degrees, 31 Minutes Weſt, and 54 Degrees, 55 Minutes North Latitude. This Town in Times paſt, has been conſidered as a Bulwark againſt the *Scots*.

plentiful County; but the Gates being shut up for three Weeks obstructed their Markets, and the whole Garrison being kept upon Duty five Days and five Nights, without any Relief, were very much fatigued.

The following Speech *of the Person who calls himself the Duke of* Perth, *at a general Council of War held at* Brampton, *near* Carlisle, *in Presence of the Pretender's eldest Son, is inserted as supposed to be authentick; if it should not prove so, I can only say, that it contains too many Particulars, of true History, to be neglected: and therefore wants not its Merits as to Matter of Information. It being communicated to me, I thought it might not be amiss to give it a Place.*

May it please your Royal Highness.

"I Cannot help expressing the Concern I am in, to see so little Unanimity, and so much Heat and Animosity, prevail in this Honourable Assembly; but my

my Concern wants Words ſufficient to expreſs it when I reflect, that there are ſo many Reaſons to complain of our preſent Situation, that there are ſo many Circumſtances daily occurring to perplex us in our Projects, to weaken our Strength, and diſcourage us in our Undertaking,

" Our Diſappointments are ſo many, that we can Number them only by the Days that have elapſed ſince our firſt Inſurrection; and their Greatneſs to be meaſured only by the Danger into which we are now plunged.

" Our Hopes, before your Highneſs's Arrival in *Scotland*, were raiſed to the higheſt Pitch, and could only be equalled by the Zeal which Subjects of all Ranks in that Kingdom expreſſed for his Majeſty. We flattered ourſelves, that your Highneſs would have appeared backed by a numerous Army, well ſupplied with Arms, Money and Ammunition; their Number we were made to believe, would not be leſs than

10,000 Men, and thoſe of the beſt Troops of *France*. Theſe were ſolemnly promiſed by Mr *Kelly*, when with us laſt Spring; we were told they were ready in the Ports of *France*, with Tranſports, and a Fleet ſufficient to protect their landing. But when the Time came how were we diſapointed? Your Royal Highneſs landed in the Weſt, with a Retinue ſcarce ſufficient for a private Gentleman: However this did not diſcourage your faithful Clans from joining you; being ſtill flattered that the promiſed Succours were at Hand, and would certainly arrive before their was any Occaſion of coming to an Action.

"The Numbers of the faithful Highlanders ſtill increaſed, till they were ſtrong enough to venture for the Eaſt. When I had the Honour of joining your Highneſs at *Perth*, I was then aſſured that the *French* were actually embarked and waited only for a fair Wind; and that a conſiderable Inſurrection would preſently appear in the North, and ſeveral other Parts of *England*. The

Places

Places of the ſeveral Riſings were particularly mentioned, and we were made acquainted with the Names of many conſiderable Men in *England*, who had undertaken to appear openly in his Majeſty's Intereſt.

"We were aſſured, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would certainly detain the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*; and would hinder the *Dutch* from ſending any Troops into *Great-Britain*, by openly declaring your Royal Father his Ally. But how we have been diſappointed in every Article of theſe Promiſes! The long promiſed Succours are not to this Day embarked; the *Breſt* Squardron, which we were made to believe was to conduct the Tranſports, has long ſince ſailed; but whether no Man knows; only we are certain they could not be deſigned for this Kingdom, for they have had both Time and frequent fair Winds, to have brought them long before now.

"His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has been ſo far from declaring himſelf openly in Favour of his Majeſty, that his

Minister at the *Hague*, peremptorily declared to the States, that his Master had no Hand in the *Don Quixote Expedition*, as he was pleased to term your Highness's Undertaking in *Scotland*. The *Dutch* were allowed, without Molestation, to send over 6000 of those Forces which were made Prisoners by the *French* King's Arms: Troops which could be of no Use to the *Dutch* in their own Country by the Capitulation with *France*. Troops, which his Majesty of *France* could hinder being made Use of against us, by a Simple Declaration, that your Royal Father was his Ally; yet this was thought risking too much in Favour of a People who had ventured their All upon the Assurances, Promises, and Faith of the *French* King. And what makes this Disappointment sit the heavier upon us, is, that we are sure, if the *Dutch* had not sent these very identical Troops, they would have been very much embarassed to have spared others, to perform their Engagements with the Elector of *Hanover*.

" But the Promise of detaining the *English* Forces was as ill performed as the

the other, tho' that ſolely depended upon his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's General. They had it in their Power to have hinder'd every Man of them from returning to *England*; and either I am very ill inform'd, or they might have made moſt of them Priſoners, had the *French* General been as ſanguine as the latter End of the Campaign, as at the Beginning of it. But they were allow'd to embark at *Williamſtadt*, without Interruption, and are now almoſt landed in *England*, without the Loſs of a Tranſport; tho' the Poſſeſſion of *Oſtend* enabled his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, had he been ſo inclin'd, to have annoy'd them much.

"As to our Hopes from *England*, they have been as deluſive as *French* Promiſes. When we arriv'd at *Edinburgh*, and had the Fortune to defeat Sir *John Cope*, our Aſſurances of a ſpeedy Inſurrection in *England* were renew'd, and the Days fix'd; but theſe, and many others, have paſſed by, and not the leaſt Appearance of any ſuch Deſign; tho'

on the Faith of them, we continu'd unactive at *Edinburgh*. We might have proceeded Southward, while the Panick of *Cope*'s Defeat was freſh upon People's Minds, and before the Elector's Forces could poſſibly be got together; but the Opportunity was loſt, in Hopes, Sir, that your *Engliſh* Friends would declare for you, and ſuperſede the Neceſſity of your loyal Clans going out of their own Country. But inſtead of any ſuch Numbers declaring for you, we were entertain'd with nothing but Aſſociations in all the Parts of *England*, in Defence of the Elector's Right; and not a Man from that Kingdom either join'd us in *Scotland*, or made any Intereſt to promote an Inſurrection in our Favour, in their own Country.

" At laſt, Sir, the Scene was ſhifted, and new Conditions annex'd to old Promiſes. We were now told that the *French* Embarkation was delay'd till all the *Engliſh* Forces were drawn Northward; and that then an Invaſion would be made in ſome Part of the South, now ſup-

ſuppos'd to be left deſtitute of Troops to defend them; and that the *Engliſh* in the North are now intimidated from Riſing, by the Vicinity of the Enemy's Troops; but promiſe faithfully to join us, ſo ſoon as our Army gets Foot on *Engliſh* Ground. The general Diſpoſition of the People is repreſented to us, as ſtrongly in our Intereſt; and we are aſſur'd, that the Gates of all Towns will almoſt open of themſelves to receive us; and that the People ardently wiſh to join us.

'Notwithſtanding the numerous Diſappointments we met with from the firſt Beginning of this Affair, yet we were again perſuaded to liſten to deluſive promiſes. We march from *Edinburgh* and enter *England*, but inſtead of that Diſpoſition to join us, which we were flatter'd with, we find thoſe who cannot oppoſe us, fly us; and thoſe who have the leaſt Shilter from our Reſentment, diſpiſe us, and treat us with the utmoſt Contempt.

"We

" We were assur'd by a Gentleman upon whose Veracity I always thought I might depend, and who now hears me, that the City of *Carlisle* we have just now pass'd, would open its Gates to us at our first Appearance; nay, that your Highness would have receiv'd the Keys of the City some Miles from the Place. But how we were disappointed you all know, and with how much Contempt, your Highness's Summons was treated.

" The Value of the Place I know to be insignificant; nor do I believe the Possession of it would be of any real Service to the main Cause; yet the Repulse we have met with from that paultry Town, has this Influence upon me, to convince me, and I am afraid too late that we are all made the Tools of *France*; a Nation whose Faith like that of *Carthage*, is become a Proverb; and there is as little Dependance on the Promise of *English*, Malecontents, whose Zeal for your Royal House these fifty Years past, has manifested itself in nothing else but Womanish

Womanſh Railing, vain Boaſting, and noiſy Gaſconades; their Affection for you is moſt elevated when in their Cups; and their Senſe of Loyalty only conſpicuous in the Abſence of their Reaſon: Warm'd with Wine and a Tavern Fire, they are Champions in your Cauſe; but when cool, their Courage and Zeal, Sir for you, and yours, evaporate with the Fumes of the Wine.

" Thus, Sir, I conclude that we have no Dependence on *Engliſh* Aſſiſtance; to what Purpoſe proceed we any further then? The Elector's Forces are by far ſuperior to ours in Number, daily ſupplied with Money, Arms, Carriages and Ammunition; while we are deſtitute of all theſe. Your loyal Highlanders will fight for you with as much Zeal and Courage as Men can boaſt of; but ſhall we lead theſe brave Men to certain Deſtruction? Were the Enemy's Numbers but equal to us, or but exceeded us in a ſmall Proportion, I doubt not, but from the Juſtneſs of our

Cauſe,

Cauſe, and the Courage of our Men, we might hope for Succeſs; but when they are Three to One, and that we muſt expect to diminiſh rather than increaſe, I would think myſelf guilty of the groſſeſt Barbarity, ſhould I give my Voice to proceed any further into *England*, until ſuch of this Nation as have promis'd to declare for the Cauſe, actually join us.

" I enter'd, Sir into this Affair, with as much Chearfulneſs as any Man here; I have contributed as much to ſupport it as any; and I think, I may ſay without Offence, that I have as much to loſe by the Event as moſt Men, and as little to hope. I ſhall venture my Life with Pleaſure to promote his Majeſty's Intereſt; yet I think I owe ſomething to the Safety of thoſe People who have followed my Fortune: I think I am bound in Duty to prevent their Ruin, as much as in my Power, which I think inevitable if they proceed any further; therefore I propoſe that we return to *Carliſle*, and attempt to poſſeſs that City;

ty; for taking of it may give ſome Reputation to our Arms, and encourage the *Engliſh* to join us, if they have any ſuch Intention; if they have not, we muſt then make the beſt Retreat back to the Highlands while we can, there diſperſe our unhappy Followers, and ſhift for ourſelves in ſome foreign Country, where there is more Faith than in either *France* or *England*."

The Rebels having ſlept quietly at *Brampton* for two nights with full Bellies, lying idle from all Action, except Feats of Rapine and Plunder, for they ſpent thoſe Days in hunting and deſtroying the Sheep of Lord *Carliſle's* Tenants, and bearing off the Country People's Geeſe and other Poultry; They alſo ſeiz'd upon all the Horſes they could lay hold on, without any Queſtion relating either to Value or Property; notwithſtanding they declar'd their Deſign was to redreſs Grievances, and Correct Abuſes.

On

On the 13th the Rebels began to move back towards *Carliſle* (by what Invitation I dont pretend to ſay) That Evening a Non-commiſſion'd Officer went round the Walls, giving Orders that none ſhould preſume to fire except he ſaw ſomething approach him, but nothing appearing the Night was ſpent in Silence. In the Morning it was perceivable, that the Rebels had thrown up a conſiderable Entrenchment under the Covert of a Thorn Hedge, about two hundred Yards diſtant from the wall on the South-Eaſt Side, on which the Fire from the Garriſon was renew'd; but the Rebels made no Return, only in Deriſion, with their Bonnets, holding them up on the End of their Spades except one Muſquet that was fir'd from behind a Hay Stack. By this, and ſome other Threats, the Town was ſo intimidated, that in a Conſultation, it was reſolv'd to capitulate, which they did on the 14th; a Deputation was ſent to the Pretender at *Brampton*, and the Town and Caſtle was deliver'd up on the 15th I cannot poſitively ſay what the Articles of

of Capitulation conſiſted of, but it appears, that the Garriſon were not to march out with the Honours of War, nor to carry any Pieces of Cannon with them.

On the 14th I was on the March with a Party from *Whitehaven*, intending to have thrown them into the Town? but it having capitulated before I reach'd it, prevented me ſharing the Fate with them, in taking the Oath not to ſerve againſt the Houſe of *Stuart* for a Year and a Day; which, if impos'd, I ſhould have been unwilling to keep. We likewiſe had ſent off ſeveral Cart Loads of Powder and Shot for the Uſe of the Garriſon, which was ſav'd from falling into the Hands of the Rebels; but they got all the Arms of the Invalids, Militia, and the Light-Horſe of the two Counties.

At this Time *Whitehaven* had rais'd ten Companies of 50 Men each, for the Defence of the Place, and rais'd Breſt-Works before the Avenues leading to

the Town, on which they planted Cannon; but on hearing that *Carliſle*, altho' a ſtrong Garriſon, had ſurrender'd, *Whitehaven* being an open Town, it was thought adviſeable to diſmount the Guns, and put them on board the Ships, that they might not fall into the Enemy's Hands; and many of the Houſes and Shops were diſrob'd, ſo that all the Horſes and Carts, with many People, were employ'd for a Day and a Night in carrying and putting Goods on Board the Ships to be ſent to *Dublin*, the *Iſle of Man*, &c. So low was the Rebels Credit in *Whitehaven*, that I ſaw an old Woman carrying away a large Basket full of Empty Bottles, rather than truſt them to their *Highland* Civility.

Lochiel, as I mention'd before, having had large Dealings with ſome of our Merchants for Timber, and there being a Diſpute to the Amount of twelve or fourteen hundred Pounds betwixt them, it was imagin'd he would come and take by Force, what Law would not give him a juſt Title to, which was the chief Reaſon

Reaſon why ſo many Effects were remov'd.

The 16th in the Morning the *Pretender* was proclaim'd at *Carliſle*, and after the proclamation was over, the Corporation walk'd in their Formalities to meet the *Mock Prince*, and conduct him into the City. Thus have I given an Account of the Siege of *Carliſle*, and, for further Information, ſhall refer to the following Letter.

A Letter from a Gentleman in *Kendal* dated *Nov.* 18.

MOST of our Militia are got Home from Carliſle, *who generally complained of very ill Uſage in that Place; and though perhaps ſome of them may exaggerate Matters through Reſentment, yet by all Accounts, the Conduct of that City fell much ſhort of what was expected from a Place of ſo much Strength and reputed Loyalty. An Officer in the ſaid Militia, who is a Man of Fortune and good Credit, declares, that* Carliſle *merits*

no greater Honour by its Surrender to the Rebels than Edinburgh *did. The Garriſon wholly conſiſted of the* Cumberland *and* Weſtmorland *Militia, together with a few Volunteers, and two imperfect Companies of Invalids. There were beſides ſome Independent Companies of the Town, who would not aſſiſt the ſaid Garriſon, with more than two or three Men out of a Company; ſo that laſt Week they were obliged to be continually upon Duty, and the Week before one half relieved the other alternately. The Militia were alſo put to other great Haraſſips; many of the Inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant Price for Proviſions; and they could not for any Money procure a ſufficient Quantity of Straw to lie upon the Walls. Captain* Wilſon, *Son of* David Wilſon, *Eſq; Member of Parliament for* Weſtmoreland, *paid One Pound Ten Shillings for the Uſe of a Cobler's Stall under the Walls. Upon the firſt Approach of the Rebels, the Garriſon gave out that they were* 3000 *ſtrong; upon which the Rebels durſt not attempt the City immediately, but went forward towards* Brampton;

ton; *from whence they returned on the* 13*th. The Garriſon kept continually firing until that Evening, when they were order'd to deſiſt and they continu'd ſo all Night, when on the* 14*th in the Morning it was obſerv'd, that the Rebels had entrench'd themſelves before the Town, on which the Garriſon renew'd their Fire, until they were order'd by the Managers of the Town to deſiſt, and come off the Walls; by which it may be ſuppos'd, the Terms of Capitulation were agreed on, The Duke of* Perth, *with his Diviſion were the firſt of the Rebels that enter'd* Carliſle, *which they did on the* 15*th, the Pretender being then ſeven Miles from the City. They made the Garriſon to ſwear never to appear in Arms any more againſt them, and* Perth *ſhaking the Men by the Hands told them they were brave Fellows, and offer'd them Money to enliſt with him. The Rebels have taken above two hundred good Horſes, and all the Arms from the Militia, beſides* 1000 *Stand lodg'd in the Caſtle. They alſo found a rich Booty in the Caſtle; the People of the County, round about, having*

brought thither, for Safety, the moſt valuable of their Effects. One of their Chiefs was kill'd by the Fire from the Walls on the 10*th. The Town capitulated on the* 14*th and on the* 15*th, about Ten o'Clock in the Morning it was given up, and the Rebels enter'd the City Several of the Militia endeavour'd to eſcape, without being oblig'd to take the Oath, as alſo did ſome of* Cope's *Men, who had deſerted from the Rebels, one of which they threatned ſhould be Shot as an Example to deter others.*

As ſoon as Marſhal *Wade* had Intelligence at *Newcaſtle* of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the Severity of the Seaſon, to march from thence to the Relief of *Carliſle*; and accordingly on the 16th, the Army began to move for that Purpoſe. His Excellency intended to have begun his March as ſoon as it was light but moving from the Left, the *Swiſs* Troops had the Van which delay'd their Motions for ſeveral Hours, to the great Prejudice of the Expedition;

for

for the Weather being extremely cold, attended with a deep Snow and hard Froſt, the Troops, ſuffer'd much. The Major Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, and the Brigadiers *Cholmondley* and *Mordaunt*, march'd on Foot, at the Head of the Infantry, to encourage the Soldiers. It was paſt Twelve o'Clock at Night, and very dark before the front Line got into the Camp at *Ovington*; and tho' the Soldiers march'd with great Chearfulneſs, yet as the Roads were exceſſive bad and full of Ice, it was apprehended that many of the laſt Column might drop through Fatigue, and therefore the Major Generals *Husk* and *Oglethorpe* ſent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to aſſiſt the Rear-Guard, and bring up the tir'd Men, in which Service they were aſſiduouſly employ'd until Morning. On the 17th Marſhal *Wade* continu'd his March to *Hexham*, where he arriv'd with his firſt Line about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon; but the Rear did not come up until Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that *Carliſle* had ſurrender'd,

re-

reſolv'd to march back to *Newcaſtle*, which he accordingly did; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being almoſt impaſſible, he did not arrive there with his Forces until the 22d, and even then they were ſo exceedingly fatigu'd, that had it not been for the peculiar Care taken of them by the People of *Newcaſtle*, who ſhew'd the utmoſt Zeal and Affection in providing them good Quarters, they muſt have ſuffer'd much more by their cold and dirty March.

This Invaſion of the Rebels having thrown all the Nothern and Weſtern Parts of the Kingdom into Confuſion, Directions were given for forming another Army in *Lancaſhire*, under the Command of Sir *John Ligonier*, Knight of the *Bath*, a Man of great Experience, Courage and Conduct. The following new rais'd Troops, viz. The Dukes *Montague*'s and *Kingſton*'s Horſe, the Duke of *Ancaſter*'s the Earls *Berkley*'s *Halliſax*'s, *Cholmondley*'s, and the Lords *Gower*'s and *Herbert*'s Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments,

ments, were aſſign'd for this Service, and order'd to march for *Staffordſhire*. The City of *Cheſter* was alſo put in a Poſture of Defence, in a ſurprizing ſhort Time, by the Care and Vigilance of the Earl of *Cholmondley*. At *Liverpool*, likewiſe, all neceſſary Precautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of the Town ſhewed all the Spirit and Reſolution that could be deſir'd.

The Inhabitants of *Liverpool*, ſenſible of what Dangers their Zeal in the Cauſe of Liberty might expoſe them to, they were juſtly alarmed at the rapid Progreſs of the Rebels, and accordingly the Magiſtrates, with the Principal Merchants and others of the Town, conſulted proper Means how to provide for their Safety. The Reſult of their Deliberation was, to petition his Majeſty to raiſe a Regiment of Foot, which they readily obtain'd, and immediately began to raiſe able Men. This Body, when compleated, conſiſted of near 700, whom, at their own Expence, they cloathed

cloathed, and paid whilſt in the Service; The Field-Officers were appointed by the King, and the Command given to the Honourable Colonel *Graham*, an experienc'd Officer. To this Service, the Corporation (beſides the worthy Example they ſet their Fellow-Townſmen, by their own private generous Subſcriptions) voted, at two different Times, 2000*l*. Here I cannot forbear obſerving the Chearfulneſs and Alacrity with which every one contributed to the forwarding this noble Deſign, ſince even the poorer Sort did not refuſe to caſt in their Mite; and the rich were not ſlack in giving according to their Abilities. The next Point to be conſider'd was how to diſpoſe of the Regiment; this cauſed a Difference of Opinion: Many were for fortifying the Town, and employing theſe Men as a Garriſon; others argu'd from the Situation of the Place, that this was ſcarce practicable. However, upon mature Deliberation, and reflecting, that to provide for their own private Security, while that of the Publick lay at Stake, was

mean

mean and ungenerous; and therefore unanimouſly agreed to ſend them as a Reinforcement to the Royal Army. Accordingly, after having broke down ſeveral Bri ges, &c. and thereby embarraſs'd and greatly retarded the Rebels, they join'd the King's Forces, under the Command of the Duke, and were preſent at the Siege of *Carliſle*. His Royal Highneſs was ſurpriz'd to find them ſo well diſciplin'd, conſidering the ſhort Time they had been rais'd and honour'd them with ſome handſome Compliments on that Account.

In the mean while the Corporation knowing that the Northern Counties had been ſeverely plunder d by the Rebels, and fearing leaſt the Royal Army ſhould be much diſtreſs'd for Proviſions, reſolv'd to ſend a Supply; and holding a Conſultation of what Quantity they could raiſe, ſent two Gentlemen of their own Body as Commiſſioners, to wait upon his Royal Highneſs the Duke, until the Surrender of *Carliſle*, with the offers of Bread and other

other Neceſſaries during that Time; the Former of which he was graciouſly pleas'd to accept. After the Reduction of *Carliſle*, his Royal Highneſs having no further Occaſion for their Service, diſmiſs'd the *Liverpool* Blues, (for ſo they were call'd) with Honour; and in two Letters wrote by Sir *Everard Faulkener*, by his Command, was pleas'd to thank the Magiſtracy and Gentlemen of the Town, for their Zeal and Affection for the preſent Government, which they had ſo ſignally demonſtrated.

While they were thus taking Care for the Publick Good, they were not entirely unſolicitous about their own particular Security; They conſider'd that many Papiſts and ill-affected Perſons liv'd among them, and to prevent any Diſturbances theſe People might poſſibly occaſion, they rais'd ſix Companies of ſeventy Men each for their Defence. Theſe they arm'd and diſciplin'd, and made Uſe of them in the Night as a Guard. They were Officer'd by the principal

principal Gentlemen of the Town and ſhew'd great Courage and Firmneſs of Mind; of which I will, to conclude the Account of this Place, give a remarkable Inſtance. While the Pretender's Army were at *Wigan* it was expected they would pay a Viſit to *Liverpool*; and one Day there was an Account brought that they actually were marching that Way. Hereupon the Gentlemen aſſembled together, and arm'd as many Men as they could, beſides the ſix Companies, with a view to defend the Town. Towards Evening they ſent out a Party on Horſeback to reconnoitre the Enemy, who on their Return found the Avenues of the Town guarded, and the lower Stories of the Houſes illuminated, with Men planted in the upper ones in Readineſs to fire, if a Body of the Rebels ſhould enter the Town: However, on their being aſſur'd that there was no Appearance of Danger, and that the Rebels had not mov'd from *Wigan*, the Apprehenſions of the People were diſſipated, and every thing perfectly quieted. Tho' this was only a

mere Preparation, and the Valour of the Men not put to the Trial, yet the Ardour they expreſs'd and the Readineſs they were in, if their was Occaſion to engage the Enemy, and not to ſuffer their Town to be plunder'd without Reſiſtance, ſufficiently evidence their Strength of Reſolution, and undoubted Fortitude of Mind. There was no Regiment in the Campaign that made a better Appearance than the *Liverpool* Blues; their Officers were a Set of Soldier-like Gentlemen, tho' they had never been bred in the Military Way, being moſtly Gentlemen, Tradeſmen, &c. yet had acquir'd a very good Diſcipline, having thrown up their Trade and Merchandize for a Time, and ventur'd their Lives, their Fortunes, and every Thing that was dear to them, in Defence of their King and Country. Such Men ought to be had in the greateſt Eſteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Eſtabliſhment.

At t' is Time the Magiſtrates of *Liverpool* remov'd all the Powder out of their

their Magazine on board ſome Ships in the Harbour, as did many of the Merchants and Traders their beſt Effects, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Rebels; they likewiſe remov'd all the Boats and ſmall Craft from the Shore, and put them under the Care of the Ships of War lying in the Road; at which Time his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* was pleas'd to ſend them the following Letter:

LITCHFIELD, Nov. 29.

Gentlemen of the Magiſtracy of LIVERPOOL,

THE Proofs of Fidelity and Zeal which you have given upon this important Occaſion, and of which Col. *Graham* has made a very exact Report, are, as they ought to be, very agreeable to me; and I moſt earneſtly recommend to you to preſerve in the ſame laudable and honourable Courſe, and at the ſame Time let you know, how much it will be for the King's and Nation's Service, that you ſhould not be induc'd, either by

Intreaties or Menances, to call back your Boats and Veſſels of what kind ſoever, which you have ſent off and put under the Protection of his Majeſty's Ships of War, but that you leave them there, in the Perſuaſion the utmoſt Care will be had of them, and which, by this Meſſenger, I recommend in the ſtrongeſt Manner, to the commanding Officer of thoſe Ships I am very ſorry your Courage and good Affections are put to this ſevere Trial and that you are expos'd to ſo great Inconveniences; but I hope the Time of your Deliverance draws nigh, and that by the Bleſſing of the Almighty, thoſe inſolent Plunderers will very ſoon receive the juſt Reward of their Villainies. This Army will be form'd in a Day or two, when I ſhall endeavour to purſume ſuch Courſes as will moſt effectually contribute to that End. I can't help taking Notice to you, how much I am pleas'd with the Account which Col. *Graham* gives me of your Regiment: Be aſſur'd, I ſhall be glad to do any Thing that may contribute to your Eaſe and Contentment; and to give you

you the moſt effective Marks of my Eſteem; and that I am, truly,

Your good Friend

WILLIAM.

By His Royal Highneſs's Command,

EVERARD FAULKENER,

In my Propoſals I only promiſed to give a Deſcription of the Towns thro' which I paſſed with his Majeſty's Army, but as * *Liverpool* has diſtinguiſh'd itſelf by its moſt unſhaken Loyalty, in this Time of Trial, I thought proper, to give a ſhort Deſcription of this Mercantile Town, by Way of Note.

The

* *Liverpool*, or *Lirpool*, is not a very ancient Town but is very neat and populous, the People very polite, courteous and well bred. It has three large Churches, that call'd St. *George*'s, is a very curious Piece of modern Architecture, from the Top of which you have a View of the Town and adjacent Country, and towards the Sea, a moſt agreeable Proſpect of the Ships in the Road and Harbour. There are alſo four Meeting-houſes for Diſſenters, *viz.* two for the Presbyterians, one for the Quakers, and one for the Baptiſts, all which live in perfect Harmony with each other; a Virtue deſerving to be imitated. There was alſo

The following contains the Route of the Rebel Army from Carliſle *to* Derby

At the ſame Time when they ſet out, I did alſo, in order to reconnoitre them, and go to the *King's* Army.

They took Leave of *Carliſle*, fluſh'd with their Succeſs; ſome of them being well

---

at the Time of the Rebellion a large Maſs-Houſe, which the Mob could not be reſtrained from pulling down. At the Head or Extremity of four Streets, which are clean and well paved, ſtands the Exchange, where from Eleven to One o' Clock every Day, Merchants, and Maſters of Ships meet for Buſineſs; over which is the Town Hall, where the Mayor and Aldermen meet, to regulate the Affairs of the Corporation. It is the moſt flouriſhing Sea-Port Town in theſe Parts, and it may juſtly be ſaid to vie with the City of *Briſtol*, the ſecond Port in *England*, its Cuſtoms being encreaſed eight or ten Fold within theſe Forty Years paſt; and tho' the Town is ſaid to be above three Times as large as it was in the Beginning of the late King *James*'s Reign, yet they continue ſtill to build conſiderably, being well provided with Clay for making Bricks, of which there are many ſtately Houſes raiſed, The Inhabitants are moſtly Merchants, who drive a vaſt Trade, with good Succeſs and large Stocks, to all the Northern Parts of the World, particularly *Hamburgh*, *Norway* and the *Baltick*; to the *Britiſh*

well mounted and accoutred, with the Spoil of our Country Trainbands, made a tolerable good Figure; but for the moſt Part they were a very deſpicable Mob;

Britiſh Colonies in *America*; to *Guinea*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*; ſo that there is no Trade but that of *Turkey*, *Greenland* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, in which they are not concerned. As it imports almoſt all Kinds of foreign Goods, it has conſequently a large Inland Trade, and almoſt equals that of *Ireland* and *Wales*, with *Briſtol*; for as *Briſtol* trades chiefly to the South and Weſt Parts of *Ireland*, from *Dublin* in the Eaſt, and to *Galloway* Weſt, this Town hath all the Trade of the Eaſt and North Shores, from *Dublin* to *Londonderry*. As *Briſtol* has the Trade of South *Wales* and the South-Weſt Counties in *England*, and ſome North of it as high as *Bridgnorth* and *Shrewsbury*;——*Liverpool* has North *Wales*, and all the Northern Counties in *England*, beſides what Goods it ſends to *Cheſhire* and *Staffordſhire*, by the new Navigation of the Rivers *Merſey*, *Weaver* and *Dane*. This Port has Wet-Docks, in which, by the Help of Flood-Gates, Ships of the largeſt Burthen may ride a-float when the Tide is out; I ſaw them this Summer making a Dry-Dock, into which they carry Ships of large Burthen, and keep them dry at High-Water. Here they have brought the Delf and Earthern-Ware to very great Perfection, with which they drive a conſiderable Trade. Their Delft-Ware very much reſembles China.

and

and had it not been for the Arms they carried, it might well be thought there was a Famine in *Scotland*, and that they came to *England* to beg; but they soon undeceiv'd us, letting us know they were ſturdy Beggars, committing all Manner of Rapine as they ran along the Country; and their Chiefs threaten'd the Towns where they came with Military Execution, if their Demands were not comply'd with, *viz.* in raiſing Contributions and collecting the Exciſe.

November 20. After leaving a Garriſon in *Carliſle*, this formidable Army, or rather a plundering Mob, to the Number of about 6700 took their Route in three Columns by Way of *Penrith* (ſixteen Miles from *Carliſle*, of which I ſhall give a Deſcription hereafter) to * *Kendal*, where

* *Kendal*, called alſo *Kirby Candele*, i. e. a Church in the Valley, ſituated on the River *Can*, which runs rounds half of the Town, over which are three Bridges of Stone with ſeveral Arches. It is the largeſt Town in the County of *Weſtmoreland*, and is enriched by the Induſtry of the Townſmen and the Woollen Manufacture, with which they

where on the 22d their Vanguard arrived headed by Col. *Stuart*, consisting of 120 Horse, mostly Gentlemen, and 60 Foot; the Quarter-Masters took a

---

they have drove a considerable Trade throughout *England* ever since the Reign of *Edward* III. As early as *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. several Laws were enacted on Purpose for regulating *Kendal* Cloths. Queen *Elizabeth* erected it into a Corporation by the Name of Aldermen and Burgesses, and King *James* I. incorporated it with a Mayor, Recorder, Town-Clerk, twelve Aldermen, twenty-four Burgesses, and two Attorneys; of whom the Mayor, Recorder, and two Senior Aldermen are always Justices of the Peace. It is of Note also for the Manufacture of Cottons, Druggets, Serges, Hats, Worsted and Yarn Stockings, *&c.* There are seven trading Companies belonging to the Town, *viz.* Mercers, Sheermen, Cordwainers, Tanners, Glovers, Taylors and Pewterers, who have each their Hall. Altho' this Town is situated nigh a very hilly mountainous Country, resembling the Highlands of *Scotland*, yet it has a very plentiful Market for all Kinds of Provisions and Woollen Yarn, which the young Women (who are not so handsome as those in *Lancashire*) bring in large Bundles under their Arms to sell. Just opposite the Town, on the East side of the River, upon a Mount, stands the Ruins of an old Castle, which was formerly of great Note. From *Kendal* to *Lancaster* is 16 computed Miles.

Lift

Liſt from the Conſtables of all the Lodgings in the Town; and after reviewing all the Houſes, deliver'd the Billets themſelves. The 23d came in the Lords *Murry Kilmarnock*, *Ogilvy*, *Nairn*, &c with their Companies, moſt of which were quarter d in *Strickland-Gate*. The 24th in the Evening came in the Highland Clans, with their pretended Prince in their Front; he had walk'd from *Penrith* that Day, which is twenty Miles, and was quarter'd on *Thomas Shepherd*, Eſq; Soon after came in the Duke of *Perth* with 200 Men, who convoy'd their Artillery and Baggage. The Morning after they firſt enter'd the Town, they made a Proclamation in the Name of their Mock Prince, that the Country People who brought any Sort of Proviſions to Town, both their Perſons and Horſes ſhould be ſafe; which was obſerv'd for that and the next Day until Night, when the Rebels went out in Parties, took ſeveral Horſes, and plunder'd the Country in a ſhameful Manner: Theſe and ſeveral other Outrages they committed on *Sunday*; which ſo chagrin'd the Country

People

People and Inhabitants of the Town, that on *Monday*, when the main Body of the Rebels went out (tho' there were upwards of 1000 in the Town) they attack'd ſeveral of the Horſe-Stealers, amongſt them were two of their Huſſars on Horſeback, whom they immediately diſmounted, and retook their Horſes.

Their Huſſars were moſt of them young Men dreſs'd in cloſe Plaid-Waiſt-coats and large Fur-Caps, but having very bad Horſes it occaſion'd them to exert all their Vigour in bringing them to a Gallop, tho' very often the poor Beaſt, notwithſtanding the Severity uſed by their Riders would drop that ſpeed and take one more ſuitable to their Age and Infirmities. If the common Men got a Belly-full of Victuals, they were not very curious about the Goodneſs of it; and as to Lodging, if a little Straw was provided to lie upon, they were intirely eaſy. The Exciſe they collected here for ſix Weeks.

On

On the 24th, the Van of the Rebel Army continu'd their March by the Way of *Burton* (a Town half Way between *Kendal* and *Lancaſter*) to *Lancaſter*, where they demanded the publick Money; but I ſhall leave them until I give you an Account, that on the 22d of *Novemb r*, his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs* brought into *Deal* a *French* Privateer call'd the *Soliel*, with a great Number of Arms, deſign'd for the Uſe of the Rebels, together with 22 Officers and 60 private Men, excluſive of the Ship's Crew.

A LIST *of the principal* PRISONERS *taken on board the* Soliel, *as their Names were given in by themſelves.*

Mr *Ratcliffe*, called Earl of *Derwentwater*, Captain in *Dillon*'s Regiment.
Mr *Ratcliffe*, ſaid to be Son of the former, Captain in Ditto.
Robert Cameron, Captain reformed, in *Ruthe*'s Regiment
Thomas Nairn, Son to Lord *Nairn*, firſt Lieutenant in Ld. *Drummond*'s Do.

Sam.

Sam. Cameron, ſecond Lieutenant in Dit.
Patrick Fitzgerald, Capt in *Buckley's*.
James Ohanlow, Captain in *Berwick's*
William Fitzgerald, ſecond Lieutenant in *Buckley's*
Corn. Maccarty, Enſign in *Buckley's*.
Alex. Baillie, Captain in *Drummona's*.
Alex. Macdonald, Captain in Ditto.
Adam Urquhart, Lieutenant in Ditto.
Lewis Shee, Captain in *Rothe's*.
Thomas Renally, Lieutenant in *Lawley's*.
John Riley, Lieutenant in *Buckley's*.
Murdock Gennis, Captain in *Dillon's*.
James Seaton, Captain in *Ruthe's*.
Edward Dunn, Lieutenant in Ditto.
Merſeil Devant, Lieu. in *Saintonge's*.
Edmund Riley, Lieutenant in *Dillon's*.
Robert Grace, Capt. reform'd in *Lally's*.
Clerm. Macdermot, *Radcliffe's* Equerry.

☞ The Ship taken by the *Sheerneſs* was formerly call'd the *Soleil*, but now the *Eſperance*.

The 26th, the laſt Column of the Rebels enter'd *Lancaſter*, in ſuch Haſte, that they only ſtay'd to eat ſome Bread

and Cheese-ſtanding in the Streets, their firſt Column being then at *Preſton* From * *Lancaſter* to *Preſton* is twenty Miles. The

---

* *Lancaſter*, the County Town, ſo call'd from the River *Lon* (on the Side of which it ſtands, near its Mouth) gives Name to the Country. 'Tis the ancient *Longovic*, where the Lieutenant of *Britain* kept a Company in Garriſon, called the *Longovici*. There are ſometimes found the Coins of *Roman* Emperors, eſpecially where the *Benedictine* Friars had once a Cloyſter, which *Camden* ſays was the Area of an Antient City, that in the Year 1322 was burnt to the Ground by the *Scots*. After this they began to build nearer the River, on the Side of a green Hill, on the Summit of which ſtands a fair and ſtrong Caſtle, and upon the Top of it, at one Corner, is a ſquare Tower called *John a Gaunt*'s Chair, from whence there is a pleaſant Proſpect of the adjacent Country, and the Courſe of the River *Lon*; and towards the Sea you have a moſt extenſive View, even to the *Iſle of Man*. Cloſe by the Caſtle is a large handſome Church, the only one in Town, and a very neat Presbyterian Meeting Houſe. At the Bottom of the Hill there's a very fine Bridge over the *Lon*, to which Ships of Burthen come; and on the ſteepeſt Part of it, there hangs a Piece of [illegible] *Roman* Wall, now called *Weary Hill*; in digging a Cellar, ſeveral Cups have been found uſed in Sacrifices. King *John* confirmed

The 27th they were at *Garſtang*, which is a good Thorough-fare Town, half Way betwixt *Lancaſter* and *Preſton*, where the ſame Day I was going, but that I meet with ſome Acquaintance at *Lancaſter* Town-end, who told me there was not a Poſſibility for me to paſs that Evening, for that the Road was full of ſtraggling Rebels, who robb'd all that fell into their Hands; ſo I returned to my Quarters at the *Sun* in *Lancaſter*, where the Magiſtrates and Gentlemen had taken Care for my Safety, by directing me where to call upon People well affected to the Government, who always were free and willing to give me the beſt Advice how to proceed. On the 28th I got to *Garſtang* (being my firſt Stage) about Nine in the Morning; and

---

firmed to the Burgeſſes, all the Liberties he had granted to thoſe of *Briſtol*; and *Edward* the III. granted to the Mayor and Bailiffs, that Pleas and Seſſions ſhould be held here, and no were elſein the County. It is at preſent a populous thriving Corporation, trading to the *Weſt-Indies*, with Hard-Ware and Woollen Manufactures, and in Return import Sugars, Rum, Cotton, &c.

as directed, I alighted at Capt. *Gardiner's* at the *Royal Oak*. At my firſt ſetting out to reconnoitre the Rebels, I purpoſed to paſs and repaſs them in the Road in the Station of a Trader, going about my own private Affairs, for which I was provided with Bills of Parcels, Letters of Orders, &c. in Caſe I ſhould be ſearch'd by them, to make it more evidently appear I was the real Perſon pretended to be: But being adviſ'd not to venture among them, leaſt I ſhould find it a great Difficulty to acquit myſelf of their Enquiry, as they might be too penetrating not to ſee through ſuch a Diſguiſe; and finding my Deſires could not be readily fulfill'd this Way, I reſolv'd to take ſome other Method, which ſhould be full as prejudicial as the former, viz. in taking up their Stragglers; and being inform'd that there were two in the Town which happen'd to ſtay behind their Command, I reſolv'd to go and take them; for which Purpoſe I borrow'd a Fuzee and a Caſe of Piſtols; when being ſhew'd to their Quarters, I immediately went in and made them Priſoners, and after

after disarming them I supply'd myself with their Arms, and committed them to the Care of a Constable, who, with his Guard, conducted them safe to *Lancaster* Castle. In the Road to *Preston*, I pick'd up another Straggler following his Company; and within two Miles of that Town I met the Rebel-Post, returning with Dispatches from their Army to *Scotland*, whom I also made Prisoner, and took from him 49 Letters I conducted him and the said Straggler to * *Preston*, intending to deliver them to the

* *Preston* or *Priests-Town*, so called from the Religious, who were formerly here in great Numbers. As it was first ornamented with the Beauty of Holiness, to it you may add Female Beauty, with which it now shines, the Ladies being very agreeable, and a large Number of Gentry live here. This Town is situated on a clean delightful Eminence, having handsome Streets, and Variety of Company, who liking the Situation of the Place, are induced to board here; it being one of the prettiest Retirements in *England*, and may for its Beauty and largeness compare with most Cities; and for the Politeness of the Inhabitants, none can excel. 'Tis incorporated and govern'd

the Magiſtrates; but they would neither receive the Priſoners nor Letters, fearing the Conſequence of ſo raſh an Undertaking, the Rebels being but juſt gone out of the Town; and as I had brought thoſe two Rebels into it, they oblig'd

---

by a Mayor, Recorder, eight Aldermen, ſeventeen Common Council Men, and a Town-Clerk. It was incorporated by King *Henry* II. and had Privileges and large Immunities granted and confirmed by ſeveral of his Succeſſors. There are Traces of a *Roman* Military Way over the Common from *Ribcheſter* to the Mouth of the *Ribble*, the Name of a fine River (a large Stone Bridge being extended over it) which plentifully ſupplies the Town with Fiſh. It is vulgarly called *Proud Preſton*, on Account of its being a Place of the beſt Faſhion. 'Tis the Reſidence of the Officers belonging to the Chancery of the County *Palatine*. Here is a handſome Church and a Town-Hall, where the Corporation Meet for Buſineſs, and the Gentlemen and Ladies for Balls and Aſſemblies. Here is likewiſe a ſpacious Market-Place, in the Middle of which ſtands a fine Obelisk; the Streets are neatly paved, and the Houſes well built of Brick, and covered with Slate. This Town being a great Thorough-fare, there are many commodious Inns for the Reception of Travellers, but one in particular, known by the Sign of the *Black Bull*

oblig'd me to tarry them out; telling me, that amongſt the Crowd in the Streets, there were ſeveral who had wore white Cockades, that were for going with the Rebels, and would certainly know me again; ſo that if ever I had the Misfortune to be taken Priſoner, I might be ſure of looſing my Life: On which, a Serjeant of the Militia was hired for 1 l. 5 s. who with four Men to aſſiſt him, carry'd the above Priſoners to *Lancaſter*.

After they were ſecur'd, I fled a-croſs the Country, intending to have gone to *Ribcheſter*, with the Letters, expect-

---

Bull, kept by Mrs *Chorley*: I never met with a better, for all kind of good Eatables, proper Attendance, civil Uſage, and a moderate Charge; and where you may have all Things done after an elegant grand Manner, if required. The Trade of the Town is pretty conſiderable for Linnen, Yarn, Cloth, Cotton, *&c.* And is remarkable for the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, near it, in 1648 when he came to reſcue King *Charles* I. from his Impriſonment; and alſo for the Defeat of the *Engliſh* Rebels, who took up Arms againſt King George I. on *November* 12, 1715. From *Preſton* to *Wigan* is 17 meaſur'd Miles.

ing

ing to have been purſu'd by the Rebel Huſſars; but without my Knowledge, the Gentlemen of *Preſton* had taken Care for my Safety, by planting a Guard upon the Bridge, with ſtrict Orders to let no Perſon paſs, to prevent the Rebels from having Notice of what had happen'd, until I was got out of their Reach. In the Evening I met with a Countryman, of whom I ask'd the Way, and deſir'd him, that if he met any of the Rebels enquiring after me, to turn them a contrary Way; which he promis'd to do; and hinted, that it was not ſafe to proceed to *Ribcheſter* but on the contrary adviſed me to make my Way for *Clithero*. Before I got into the right Road for that Place, I came to a deep Brook, over which was a long Stone laid for Foot-Travellers, and in riding over it, one of the hinder Feet of my Horſe ſlipp'd, and we both fell backwards into a Brook of Water, where I was well dipp'd; but my Horſe and ſelf, after a little Toil, got out without any other Damage. Having no Time to looſe, I immediately

ly mounted, the Water dripping plentifully from my Cloaths, but my Boots continu'd full, and my Fire-Arms were likewiſe wet; which render'd me incapable of making little Reſiſtance, in caſe I had been cloſely purſu'd In this Plight I continu'd for ſome Hours, the Night being very cold and froſty, and knew not the Road until I came to a Houſe, where I hir'd a Guide who conducted me over *Longridge Fell*, to *Clitkero*, where I arriv'd about Ten the ſame Night, and had the Letters open'd by a Juſtice of Peace, Upon Examination, there appeared little in them of Conſequence, except boaſting Epithets of Favours which they had never receiv'd; alledging, among other Things, that the People of *Lancaſhire* had joined them, that their Army was encreas'd to 24,000 Men, and that they were going directly for *London*, without Oppoſition, two of them deſerves particular Notice, and ſhall be given in their own Words, as follows, *viz*

LETTER

LETTER I.

WE have taken Carliſle, *which is the Key to* England! *We don't know that there will be another Stroke ſtruck, eſpecially if the* French *land according to our expectation. We are going to* London *without Oppoſition, and as ſoon as our Affairs are ſettled, which I expect will be in about two Months, then I'll return Home to my Family*, &c.

LETTER II.

WE have left our heavy Baggage in Carliſle *Caſtle, and march ſo light, that neither Hedges, Dykes, nor Devils are able to ſtop us; We have out-ſtripped* Wade, *and have nothing to do but to go by* Legonier, *and ſo to* London, &c.

Theſe Letters, if they had gone to *Scotland*, would have been of bad Conſequence, in ſpiriting up the People to Rebellion, eſpecially thoſe who waited to ſee the Iſſue of Things; for all the fore-mentioned 49 Letters, whatever Stile they were write in, agreed in one Par-

Particular, of their going directly to *London*: Such an Inſinuation could not have fail'd of making ſome think it next to Madneſs in them to ſtay behind, and not to follow their Friends to ſo fine a Place as that huge City, and get a Part of the rich Plunder that was to be had there. When the Rebels were at *Lancaſter*, going South, amongſt the Multitude which quarter'd at the Sun, there happen'd to be two Lowland Gentlemen, the one was complaining of his Horſe which in ſome Reſpect did not pleaſe him; to which the other anſwer'd, *Ther were mony a guid Horſe in* London. The firſt reply'd, *I ken that right wee'l we'l like an get a guid Horſe anſt we won there, and mony guid things beſide.*

The Rebels were at * *Wigan* on the 28th, when a Party of them went thro' *Leigh*

* *Wigan* is a fair built Town in the high Poſt Road, pleaſantly ſituated near the Riſe of a Rivulet call'd *Dugleſs*. 'Tis a Corporation erected by K. *James* I. It has a ſtately Church, ſaid to be the beſt

Leigh, and an advanc'd Party enter'd *Manchester* the ſame Day.

Manchester was taken by a Serjeant, a Drum, and a Woman, about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon, who rode up to the *Bull's Head*, on Horſes with Hempen Halters (a juſt Emblem of what they deſerv'd) where they din'd; after Dinner they beat up for Recruits, and in leſs than an Hour liſted about thirty.

---

beſt endow'd in the County, and the Rector of it is always Lord of the Manor. This Town is famous for its Manufacture of Coverlids, Rugs, Blankets, and other ſorts of Bedding, Braſs, Copper, *&c.* Likewiſe for extraordinary Coal Mines, which lie contiguous to it, on the Eſtate of Sir *Roger Bradſhaw*, Bart. which they call Kennel Coal, yielding in burning a very clear Flame, and conſumes to a white Aſh, like Wood. Of theſe Coals they make many curious Toys, it bearing to be turn'd and poliſh'd, ſo as to look like black Marble or Jet, being formed into Snuff-Boxes, Nutmeg-Boxes, Candle-Sticks, Salts, *&c.* by one *Tootell*, a Turner, who lives here: It cannot be work'd far diſtant from where it is got, by Reaſon of the Hardneſs which it will acquire through Time when conveyed to diſtant Places. From *Wigan* to *Manchester* is twelve computed Miles.

They

They were likewiſe join'd by ſeveral others, ſome of Deſperate Fortunes who were modell'd into what they call'd the *Mancheſter* Regiments; moſtly People of the loweſt Rank, and the vileſt Principles; which occaſion'd him, who call'd himſelf the Duke of *Perth*, to ſay, 'That if the Devil had come a recruiting, and profer'd a Shilling more than his Prince, they would have prefer'd the former.' Which no doubt was a great Diſappointment to them; for they had flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes of a conſiderable Inſurrection in their Favour.

On the 29th, a conſiderable Body of Rebel Horſe enter'd *Mancheſter*, about Ten in the Forenoon, and the Bellman was ſent about the Town, requiring all ſuch as had any Publick Money in their Hands to bring it in. About Two in the Afternoon, the Pretender, at the Head of a Party of pick'd Highlanders, and in their Dreſs, march'd into *Mancheſter*; he took up his Quarters at Mr *Dickinſon*'s, in *Market-ſtreet-Lane*, and

was proclaim'd in Form. In the Evening the Bellman was again ſent about to order the Town to be illuminated; and at Night the Rear of the Army arriv'd, where they continu'd for two Days.

On the 30th, I got to *Rochda'e*, where I very narrowly eſcap'd being taken by a Party of the Rebels, who were there to demand the Militia Arms, Land-Tax, &c. near the end of the Town I met with ſome Men that had made their Eſcape, who told me the Rebels were in purſuit of them to take their Horſes; on which I turn'd back with what Speed I could make, until I got to a Mill; the Miller ſhew'd me a Path leading out of the Road to a Village where one Dr. *Bent.y* liv'd, to which I haſten'd, ſtrip'd my Horſe, hid the Furniture up in the Hay-Loft, and drew off my Boots, that if the Rebels chanc'd to ſee me, I might pretend that I liv'd there; by which I eſcap'd. In the Dusk of the Evening, I ſet forwards towards *Rochdale*, and in my Way thither met with a Man, who told me, he had been round the adjacent Country,

Country, to order the Arms to be brought in, and ſent to the Rebels next Day; on which I reſolv'd they ſhou'd not have mine, ſo threw them over a Garden Hedge near the End of the Bridge, where I went late in the Night, with my Landlord, and brought them from thence; and by the Reſolution of *Robert Entwiſtle* Eſq; and ſome other Gentlemen, the Arms were not ſent to the Rebels as agreed on. At *Rochdale* I met with *P---- M----*, a Gentleman well affected to the Government, who gave me a Liſt of the Road to *Macclesfield*, by which Direction I got ſafe, altho' not without difficulty. The Rebels carried off all the Horſes they could find about *Mancheſter*, not excepting their Friends, who, if they ſollicited on that Score, got for Anſwer, 'That if they 'had a Regard for P---- C----, ſure, 'they would not refuſe ſo ſmall a Trifle 'as a Horſe for his Service.' They alſo borrow'd all the Shoes and Boots they could meet with; ſo that many were depriv'd of their Underſtanders.

On the 30th an advanc'd Guard of the Rebels march'd, Part for *Stockport*, (by ſome call'd *Stopford*, being a Market Town on the Edge of *Cheſhire*, noted for its Silk-Mills and a very antient Church; ſituated on the Banks of the River *Merſey*; over it is a neat Stone-Bridge, which divides *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*) and the reſt for *Knotsford*. The ſaid Bridge being broke down by the *Liverpool Blues*, (already taken Notice of) they croſs'd over above it.

The next Day a Party of the Rebels, moſtly mounted on Horſes taken at *Preſton-Pans*, were at *Aſhton*, receiving the Exciſe, Land-Tax, *&c.* I was there that Evening, and took Advice of the Reverend Mr *Penny*, how to proceed. It is very remarkable, that in their whole Progreſs, no Diſcoveries could be made of the Routs they intended to take becauſe they were never given out above an Hour before their March began, and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they had to perform the next-

Mor-

Morning; which Secrecy, in all Probability, preſerv'd them from Deſtruction; ſince, however formidable they might be at a Diſtance, it was the Opinion of others as well as myſelf, that they were very far from making a dreadful Appearance. In the mean time the Duke's Army was forming in *Staffordſhire*; for, upon the Approach of the Rebels, it was reſolv'd that his Royal Highneſs ſhould be ſent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arriv'd at *Litchfield* on the 28th of *November*; his Troops at that Time being canton'd, with a Line of Cavalry in their Front, from *Tamworth* to *Stafford*, making a very fine Appearance, being well furniſh'd with Artillery, and whatever elſe was requiſite for the Service. As for the Forces of which his Army conſiſted, I will only ſay, that the following was looked upon at that Time to be the moſt authentic Account.

An exact LIST *of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of* Cumberland's *Army.*

FOOT.

Veteran Soldiers	7,500
New rais'd Horſe	3,000
	10,500

HORSE.

Veteran Horſe	1,400
New rais'd Horſe	800
	2,200
Total of the Army	12,700

The Army under the Command of Field-Marſhal *Wade* began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having reach'd to *Darlington* and *Richmond* by the 25th; and on the 29th, the Marſhal with the Infantry was at *Preſsbridge*, from whence he propos'd

pos'd to march for *Weaterby*, and then to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages, looking upon this as their moſt convenient Situation, either for diſtreſſing the Enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt to return, or for co-operating with his Royal Highneſs's Forces, as Occaſion ſhould require. By theſe well concerted Diſpoſitions, all Apprehenſions of Danger were in a great Meaſure taken off, and the Country People began every where to recover their Spirits, and put themſelves in the beſt Poſture of Defence they could, in caſe of their being viſited by theſe Highland Invaders. Such was the Situation of things at the Cloſe of *November* 1745.

The Inhabitants of *Scarborough* being ſenſibly alarm'd at the rapid Progreſs of the Rebels, and the Danger their Town was expos'd to, if viſited (they having ſome Time before ſubſcribed 320 *l.* for the Service of the Government) on the 22d of *November* choſe out of their Body a Committee of twelve Gentlemen to conſider how this Money ſhould be applied,

plied, who unanimouſly agreed to lay it out in fortifying the Place; which they immediately ſet about with ſo much Alacrity, and without Diſtinction, under the Direction of Mr *Vincent*, their Engineer, that in three Weeks Time, with the Labour of 1000 Hands daily, rais'd Breaſt-Works and Batteries before the Avenues leading to the Town, from the South to the North Seas, and planted thereon 99 Pieces of Cannon, which were taken from the Shipping in the Harbour, and had in Readineſs 2000 Small Arms and Plenty of Amunition; which with the Aſſiſtance of the Sailors, who ſeldom fail in their Undertakings, were determin'd to defend the Town for the Honour of the Government and their own Safety.

I will now return to the Progreſs of the Rebels, ſo long as they continu'd to perſiſt in their wild Notion of marching South. They were very induſtrious in collecting the Exciſe, and that none might eſcape them, they had order'd Officers to go about the Country in Foot-Walks;

Walks : I got Information of one of theſe Sort, carrying his Bag on his Shoulder, whom I purſued, intending if I came up with him, to have aſſum'd the Office of Collector-General for that Time. I ſet out from *Aſhton* with a Guide who conducted me to *Samuel Chetham*, Eſq; of *Mellor*, on the Edge of *Derbyſhire*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace of that County ; he ſent a Servant with me to Mr *Royle's* at *Bullock-Smithey*, where I left my *French* Fuzee. Thus I kept to the left of the Rebels in the Day, having ſometimes a View of them, and the Quarters they left in the Day, I always came to at Night by which I obtain'd the moſt authentic Accounts, as well from the beſt Judges as from my own Obſervations, of their Proceedings from Place to Place.

December 1. The Mock Prince, with the main Body of his Army, and all his Artillery, enter'd *Macclesfield*. The Afternoon was ſpent in ſcaling and puting in Order their Fire-Arms, as if expecting a Battle ſoon to come on ; but

what was the real Intention of the Deputy Pretender and his Council of War it is impoſſible to ſay ſince it was firſt believ'd they intended to have march'd into *Wales*; but perceiving if they ſhould accompliſh that Scheme, they would certainly be ſhut up there, and reduc'd to great Neceſſities in a mountainous Country, with which they were not acquainted, they abandon'd this Project as impracticable. On the 2d, as their Rear was marching out of *Macclesfield*, one of their Boys wanting to buy a Cap, was ſhewn to a Shop by one that had deſerted from the King's Army, who drew a Dirk from the Boy's Side, with which he ſtabb'd him in the Thigh, and running through the *Angel* Inn, eſcap'd backward's; upon which Part of the Rebels return'd, threatening to burn the Town; and as he who committed the Fact could not be found, they carried away, as Hoſtages, the Landlord of the *Angel*, and the Maſter of the Houſe adjoining to the Shop where the Fact was committed. This ſhews with what Injuſtice their arbitrary Power was ex-

executed, often puniſhing the Innocent for the Guilty. That Day I was accompanied by Mr *Royle's* Son from *Bull Block-Smithey*, to within half a Mile of * *Macclesfield* when being informed

* *Macclesfield*, or *Maxfield*, gives Name to a ſpacious Foreſt on the Edge of *Derbyſhire*, which is water'd (beſides other Rivers) by the *Bolin*, on which the Town ſtands. 'Tis an ancient large Town, one of the faireſt in the County, and was erected into a Borough by King *Edward* III. It is govern'd by a Mayor, and enjoys great Priviledges and Juriſdictions, by Vertue of the Court, and the Liberties of the Foreſt. The Church, or rather Chapel) it being in the Pariſh of *Presbury*, is a fair Edifice with a very high Tower Steeple, and a College adjoining to it, with Monuments of the *Savages*, and other Perſons of Note. There is alſo an Oratory in it belonging to the Earls *Rivers*, where are two Braſs Plates, on one of which, is a Promiſe of 26,000 Years, 26 Days Pardon, for ſaying five Pater-noſters and five Aves. Their chief Manufacture is Buttons; the Free-School is of an ancient Foundation. It firſt gave Title of Earl to Lord *Gerrard* of *Brandon*, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. but now to one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. *George Parker*, Son of *Thomas Parker*, who was created Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Lord High Chancellor, by King GEORGE I. There are ſeveral good Inns, of which the *Angel* is the beſt, for good Entertainment and civil Uſage.

that

that the Rebels were all gone out of the Town, and thinking that I was quite ſafe, he left me; but as ſome of the Rebels had return'd on the above Occaſion, I rode into the Town too ſoon, and alighting at the *Angel* Inn, narrowly eſcap'd being taken. I immediately apply'd to the Mayor, who took proper Care for my Safety; but not chuſing to truſt much to their Highland Civility I was afraid of falling into their Clutches, being ſenſible they would be more fond of meeting with the Perſon who had intercepted their Letters, than the Man who had made his Eſcape thro' the Inn, was unwilling to give them that Satisfaction; and as the Favours for which they were indebted to me were contain'd in my Journal, I thought proper to commit it to the Flames, and would have left my Arms with the Mayor, but he told me if the Rebels ſhould return, and upon Search find any of their Inſtruments of Death, they might be provok'd to burn his Houſe; he therefore adviſ'd me to leave them at my Inn they not being accountable for what

what a Traveller left; on which I hid them in my Room, and only acquainted the Hoſtler. After I was gone (as I was inform'd at my Return) the Chamber Maid went to make my Bed, and by drawing the Curtains ſhak'd the Bed-Teſter, on which a Handful of Bulets trundled out of a disjointed Corner, which excited a Curiouſity in her to ſtand on a Chair to ſee from whence they came, where ſhe found my Highland Piſtols, which were a Piece of curious Workmanſhip, the Stock, Lock and Barrel being of poliſh'd Steel, engrav'd and inlaid with Silver; and on ſweeping under the Bed ſhe found my Sword, which was alſo of the Highland Make, by that curious Workman *Andrew Ferrara*; when ſhe came down Stairs, ſhe reported to the Houſe, that ſome of the Rebels had left their Arms; but the Hoſtler told her they did not belong to the Rebels, and that he would take Care of them until the Owner return'd.

On the 2d of *December*, about 2000 of their Foot paſs'd by *Goſport*, and

the ſame Number of Horſe and Foot enter'd *Congleton* ||.

The ſame Day in the Evening a Detachment went for *Aſhburn*, as if they intended to go to * *Newcaſtle-Under-Line*; a Party of their Huſſars advancing as far as *Talk o' the' Hill*, where they took Capt *Vere* Priſoner in the *Red-Lion* Inn. The Alarm of the Rebels Approach was immediately ſent to *Newcaſtle-Under-Line*.

At

|| *Congleton*, is a neat Town in *Cheſhire*, about 7 Miles from *Macclesfield*, on the Borders of *Staffordſhire*, pleaſantly watered on all Sides by the River *Dan*, the Brook *Howley*, and the *Daning Schaw*; it's a Corporation conſiſting of a Mayor, and ſix Aldermen, and noted for a good Trade in Leather Gloves, Purſes, and Points. Mr *Cambden* ſays, that in his Time it had only one Chapel, and that entirely of Wood, excepting the Choir, and a little Tower: for the Mother Church was at *Aſtbury*, two Miles off. There is now a ſtately Church beſides the above Chapel.

* *Newcaſtle-Under-Line*, or *Lime*, ſtands on a Branch of the River *Trent*. Mr *Cambden* ſays, that the *New Caſtle* from whence it was denominated

At this Time an advanc'd Party of the King's Troops, which lay at *Newcaſtle-Under-Line*, conſiſting of about five Regiments of Horſe and Foot, hearing of the Approach of the Rebels, the Drums beat to Arms; which put the Inhabitants into the utmoſt Confuſion. The Regiments were all drawn up on the Parade, and reſted under Arms for ſome Time, when about Twelve o'Clock at Night, they march'd out of the

---

nated, ſtands not far from *Cheſterton-Under-Line*, which is now levell'd. It was incorporated by King *Henry* I. and is governed by a Mayor, two Juſtices, two Bailiffs, and twenty-four Capital Burgeſſes. The Corporation has a Court, veſted with Priviledges of holding Pleas for Action under 40 *l.* Here is a Caſtle which was built in the Reign of King Henry III. The Streets are broad and well paved, but ſome of the Houſes are low and thatched. They have four Fairs and a Weekly Market, and a great Trade for Cloth. It had four Churches formerly, which are reduced to one, having ſuffered much in the *Barons* Wars. The Town is ſurrounded with Coal-Pits, and about 3 Miles from it is a Manufacture of Earthen Ware, which imitates brown *China*, and makes curious black Tea-pots, &c. reſembling *Japan*, being neatly figured and gilt.

Town leaving their Baggage unloaden in the Market-Place, and retreated to *Stone-Town Field*, where his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* drew up his Army and Artillery, in Expectation that the Rebels would come and give him Battle; but they not careing to risk the Hazard of an Engagement where his Royal Highneſs commanded in Perſon, filed off towards *Leek* and *Aſhburn*, about fifteen Miles from *Derby*. On the 3d his Royal Highneſs order'd his Army into *Stone* for Quarters, which were very hard to get, it being but a ſmall Town; and ſo many Soldiers ſoon occaſioned a Conſumption in the Victuals and drink.

December 4. The young Pretender enter'd *Derby* with about 500 Horſe and 2000 Foot; and, in the Evening, the reſt of his Troops, in all about 7000, arrived with a Train of Artillery conſiſting of 15 Pieces of ſmall Cannon, and one Co-horn, with all their Baggage

That

That Evening the Duke of *Perth*, asking for a News-Paper the St. *James's Evening-Poſt* was brought him, dated *Nov.* 30 which contain'd the following *Advertiſement*, with a *Reward*; which he carried to the Pretender the next Morning

RUN away from their Maſter *at* Rome *in the Dog-Days of laſt* Auguſt, *and ſince ſecreted in* France, *two* young Lurchers *of the right* Italian *Breed*; *and being of a black Tan Colour, with ſharp Noſes, long Claws, and hanging Ears, have been taken Abroad for King* Charles *the Second's Breed*; *but a Bitch from* Italy *unfortunately broke the Strain in* 18, *by admitting into the Kennel*, a baſe Mongrel of another Litter. —— *They are ſuppoſed to be on the Hunt for Prey in the* North. *They go a full* Dog-Trot *by Night for Fear of being catch'd. They anſwer to the Names of* Hector *and* Plunder, *and will jump and dance at the ſound of the* French Horn, *being uſed to that Note by an old* Dog-Maſter *at* Paris. *They prick up*

their Ears alſo at the Muſick of a Lancaſhire Hornpipe.

This is to give Notice, that whoever can ſecure this Couple of Curs, *and bring them back, either to the* Pope's Head *at* Rome, *near St.* Peter's *Church, or to the* Cardinal's Cap *at* Verſailles, *or to the* King's Arms *at* Newcaſtle, *or to the* Thiſtle *at* Edinburgh, *or to the* Three King's *at* Brentford, *or rather to the Sign of the* Axe *on* Tower-Hill, *ſhall have the Reward of* Thirteen-pence half-penny, *or any Sum below a* Crown, *and the Thanks of all the Powers of* Europe, *except* France, Spain, *and the* Pope.

N. B. *They have each a* French *Collar on ſtamp'd with their Father's Arms, a* Warming-Pan, *and the* Flower-de-Luis, *with this Inſcription,* We are but Young Puppies of *Lewis*'s-Pack.

☞ *Beware of them, for they have got a Smack of the* Scots-Mange, *and thoſe that are bit by them run mad, and are call'd* JACOBITES.

Their

Their whole Force being now together, and the Stragglers and *Engliſh* Recruits all come in, they made the moſt formidable Appearance poſſible in *Derby*; yet they uſed all the Precaution imaginable to hinder an exact Account from being taken of their Number, which was a Point they labour'd to manage with the utmoſt Diligence, during their whole March, often demanding Billets for ten thouſand Men, when they had not above half that Number with them. On their firſt coming into *Derby* it was judged, both from the Meaſures they took, and from the Behaviour of their Chiefs, that they were ſtill diſpoſed to march on. In the Evening they held their Councils of War; in which the Debate amongſt their Chiefs grew too high to be conceal'd; yet they agreed upon nothing the firſt Night, except levying the Publick Money; which they did with the uſual Threats of Military Execution, as they had done in all the Towns they marched through. They alſo endeavour'd to levy Men here, and beat up publickly for that purpoſe, but

with

with very little Succeſs; for there were very few that took on with them in the Town, and thoſe of the loweſt Claſs both in Point of Morals as well as Condition; which plainly ſhews how low their Credit was ſunk.

They continu'd in *Derby* the next Day; and in the Afternoon held another great Council, in the Preſence of the young Chevalier; in which (as it was afterwards known) a final Reſolution was taken for returning into *Scotland* There has been various Reaſons aſſign'd for their making this ſudden Retreat: But as it is my Deſign to relate known Facts, rather than Conjectures, I ſhall paſs them by, and only offer my own Opinion, which I take to be the true Cauſe, *viz.* The Diſappointment they had met with in the Augmentation of their Forces; for they flatter'd themſelves with a great Inſurrection in *England* in their Favour; *Lancaſhire* being the Place moſt depended upon, as appear'd by their Letters, for imaginary Succours; which County they had gone through without receiving the ex-

expected Supplies, few having join'd them and thoſe ſuch as I have already deſcribed, People of deſperate Fortunes and vile Principles: All of any Worth or Reputation appear'd hearty and zealous for the Cauſe of their King and Country, exerting themſelves in their ſeveral Stations, as became Men who valued the true Intereſt of a Proteſtant Government. There was ſcarce a Town that I came to, when on the Reconnoitre, where I was not known; but there was an Officer came to take me up for a Rebel; but when he found his Miſtake, I was viſited by the Magiſtrates and Gentlemen of corporated Towns, who congratulated me on my good Succeſs; with which they appear'd to be well pleas'd. I look upon it as no Diſcredit to *Lancaſhire* that the Rebels got ſome Recruits amongſt them, ſince they were moſtly ſuch as were a Nuſance to the Country; and I think it would have been better if ſuch in every County according to their Inclination, for then they might have had a Chance to be hang'd, or diſpatch'd in a readier Way; by which

which the Country would have been eas'd of a Load not worth to be bore above Ground; and if they had escap'd without receiving their Deserts, yet honest Men might know how to place a just Value on such detestable Wretches. It seems most probable, that the small Encouragement which the Rebels met with in the Place where they had the greatest Dependence, might be the Cause of their sudden Retreat.

The Case was much the same in the Year 1715; although a great many *Lancashire* Gentlemen, with their Servants and Friends had join'd the Rebels, yet they were most of them *Papists*; which made the *Scots* Gentlemen and Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the Cause; for they expected all the High-Church Party to have join'd them; who, according to *Patton*'s History of that Rebellion, are never right hearty for the Cause, 'till they are mellow over a Bottle; —— and then they do not care for venturing their Carcases any further than the Tavern; there

here indeed, (says he) with High Church and *Ormond*, they would make Men believe, (who do not know them) that they would encounter the greatest Opposition in the World; but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume a little evaporated, it is to be observ'd of them that they generally become mighty tame and like the Snail, if you touch their Houses they hid their Heads, shrink back and pull in their Horns Upon the Whole, it may be said of the *English Jacobites*, no People in the Universe know better the Difference between drinking and fighting: It is true, the latter they know not practically; and I believe they are so well satisfied of the Truth of what they have by Relation that they never will —— Would toasting Healths, down with the Rump, &c. reduce Kingdoms, mighty Feats would have been perform'd by the Power of the Bottle and Glass; and if the *French* Monarch had a large Body of these Men in his Service, he would bid fair (if Blusterings could do it) of succeeding in his favourite Scheme of Universal Monarchy. Not-

Notwithſtanding all the Artifice uſed to prevent it, there was, I believe, the moſt true and curious Calculation made of their Number during their Continuance at *Derby*; which was the more eaſy to be done becauſe they ſtaid there ſo long, had their whole Army with them, and were more regularly quarter'd there than in any other Town during their March: This Liſt being communicated to me, I thought proper to give it a Place here as it was made by the principal Inhabitants of *Derby* in all its Pariſhes; and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the firſt and ſecond Nights; ſo that the ſmall Difference between thoſe Calculations, plainly ſhews how much they may be depended upon.

First Night.	Parishes.	Second Night.
1590	St *Warburg's*	1641
2979	*All-Saints*	3027
1001	St. *Peter's*	1001
724	St. *Michael's*	724
714	St. *Edmund's*	755
6008		7148

☞ Women and Boys excluded.

The Rebels, during their Stay at *Derby*, were inform'd, that a Subscription had been set on Foot in that Town, for the King's Service, a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paid in; they presently found Means to procure a Copy of the Subscription Roll, which Sum they demanded under Pain of Military Execution. They were very industrious in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes, and other Necessaries while at * *Derby*; and it is

* *Derby* is the County-Town; and has its Name from having been a Park, or Shelter for

is not to be ſuppos'd that ſuch Cuſtomers would pay the full value for what they had, ſo that the Difference between their Price and the juſt Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be conſider'd a ſecond

---

Deer, which is partly confirm'd by the Arms of the Town, *viz.* a Buck couchant in a Park. It ſtands on the Weſt Side of the River *Derwent*, and the South Side of it is watered by a Rivulet, call'd *Mertin-Brook*, which has nine Bridges over it before it falls into the *Derwent*. It has a fair Stone Bridge of Seven Arches over the latter, on which formerly ſtood a Chapel dedicated to St. *Mary*, but is now converted into a Dwelling-Houſe. When this Town was firſt built there is no certain Account; but ſome old Churches, and certain Privileges with which it enjoys, denotes its being ancient; for we read that it was a Royal Borough in the Reign of *Edward* the Confeſſor, and exempted from paying Toll in *London*, or any Place except *Wincheſter*, and ſome few other Towns. In the Time of the *Saxons*, the *Danes* had their Head Quarters here, until *Ethelfred* at the Head of the *Mercian* Forces took it by Surprize, defeated an Army of the *Danes* here, and put them to the Sword. In the South-Eaſt Corner of the Town there was formerly a Ca[illegible] of which there are now no Tokens but a Hill, call'd *Coxe-Caſtle-Hill*, and is a Street leading to St. *Peter's*, which in ancient Deeds is call'd *Caſtle-Gate*.

Con-

Contribution Amongſt the many Priſoners that were confined under a Guard at the pretended Princes Quarters, in *Derby*, was one Mr *Birch*, an emienent Linnen-Draper in *Bucklers-bury*, *London*, whoſe miraculous and providential Eſcape from the Rebels ought to be particularly mention'd: Mr *Birch* from his Loyalty and Zeal for the preſent Government, having join'd the Duke's Army, then at *Stafford*, in order to get the beſt Intelligence he could, of the deſign of the Rebels, came here the Day before they came to Town, and ſent his Horſe three or four Miles off, ſtaying himſelf till moſt of the Rebel Army was come in, and then ſet out to give his Royal Highneſs an Account of his proceedings.

On *Thurſday* Night he came again for a 2d Reconnoitre, but was taken Priſoner on the *Nuns-Green* by ſome of the Artillery Guard, and whilſt they were examining him, he was diſcover'd by one of the *Mancheſter* Villains, who had join'd the Pretender, upon *Birch* being

born at *Mancheſter* and whoſe Father is at this Time a Gentleman, of conſiderable Fortune there and well knowing his Zeal for the preſent Government, informed the Rebel Officers of it, who thereupon committed him Priſoner.

The next Morning, before it was light whilſt the firſt part of the main Body were marching out of Town, (taking a favourable Opportunity) he leapt out of a Window about ſix Yards from the Ground, into Lord *Exeter's* Garden, and down to the Bottom thereof, where the River *Derwent* runs, with great difficulty and the hazard of his Life made his way into the neighbouring Gardens, but in one attempt his hold failing, he fell backward into the River, and being a good Swimmer, ſwam to ſome Steps leading into a Gentleman's Garden, which he took the advantage of and went into; but not thinking himſelf ſafe long there, ſtriped himſelf quite naked, (tho' a very cold Morning) leaving his Cloaths, with a Gold Watch and ſome Money behind him, which the Rebels hearing of took away

away with them; he then went into the *Derwent* again, which River he followed for four Miles until he came to *Alvaſtow*, where he took refuge at a good Houſe, where the Family took all immagenable Care of him but apprehending he was purſu'd, went to another Houſe, where being provided with Cloaths, and a Horſe he eſcaped to *Nottingham*, out of the reach of the Rebels, and has ſince made a grateful return to thoſe who ſo kindly aſſiſted him in his Diſtreſs: many other Priſoners whom they took here, they forced to march on Foot to *Aſhburn*, without allowing them any Subſiſtance, or allowing them to buy any whilſt amongſt them, and when they came there were tried by a mock Court Martial, and being acquited was diſmiſt'd.

Thus have I given a Journal of the Rebels Proceedings whilſt they continued in their wild Notion of marching Southwards; which, I doubt not, will be more acceptable to my Countrymen from me (being an Eye-Witneſs) than from Strangers, who muſt write only upon Hearſay.

On the 4th, the Weather being extremly cold, I rode all Night with a Guide, and about Four o'Clock in the Morning got to *Stafford* where his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* was with the Army. The Town was very full; however, I got my Horſe taken Care of at the *Croſs-Keys*; by the length of my Journey, the Roads were very bad, the Weather exceeding cold and the Want of Sleep, it may be ſuppos'd I was pretty much fatigu'd, yet had no Opportunity to get a Bed; but the Satisfaction of being amidſt the King's Troops with the Help of ſome good old Beer, and a Fricaſee of Rabits, I was fit to undertake anothers Day's March. At Half an Hour paſt Six I went to his Royal Highneſs, and acquainted him with the Obſervations I had made, and repeated the moſt material Part of the Letters which I took from the Rebel-Poſt, not having them with me for fear of being taken. Being join'd the King's Army, and having nothing to fear but common Fate, I reſolv'd to take my Chance with them in ſo good a Cauſe. There was a

Houſe

Houſe by ſome Accident ſet on Fire the Morning that I went into * *Stafford*.

On the 6th the Rebels made a Feint as if they would have march'd for *Loughborough*, but ſuddenly retreated Northward, with the utmoſt Speed, and fled to *Aſhburn* that Night. His Royal Highneſs having taken all the neceſſary Precautions to prevent their penetrating any further South, and to bring them to

---

* *Stafford* is a Town of great Antiquity; *Cambden* ſays, it was firſt built by *Edward* the Senior, under the Name of *Betheny*, where one *Berteline*, who was afterwards canonized for a Saint, for his great Piety, and leading an Hermit's Life: It was afterwards call'd *Staiford*, and now *Stafford*; is ſituated in a fruitful Soil, and a ſweet Air, on the Bank of the River *Sow*; is adorned with two Churches, one whereof is very large and ſpacious; and a Free School; beautified with a large and uniform Market-Place, in which is a Houſe where the Aſſizes are held for the County; the Streets are clean and well paved; the Buildings of Stone and Slate, and ſome of them very handſome, with ſeveral good Inns. I was well accommodated at the *Croſs-Keys*. King *John* made this Town a Corporation, and *Edward* VI. confirmed and enlarged the Charter.

a Bat-

a Battle, march'd his Army that Day to *Litchfield* and the next Day to *Meriden*, and advanc'd the next Day to *Coventry*. Moſt of the Foot encamp'd on *Meriden* Common betwixt *Coleſhill* and *Coventry*. The Soldiers had here the *Quakers* gift of Flannel Waiſtcoats. They being a quiet peaceable People don't ſwear and fight for the King as we do; the former of which might be omitted without the leaſt Prejudice to our Military Diſcipline; for I never heard that bloody Oaths without Action were able to defend a Town; but action without Oaths may; and I don't know any Reaſon but that an Officer may bear as good a Command with *Yea* and *Nay*, as with *D-m me Bl--d* and *O-n-s*. Altho' the *Quakers* are not in the Practice of fighting for the King, as I have juſt obſerv'd, it being contrary to their Principles to bear Arms, yet they contribute to them that do, in paying the regular Taxes, due to the Government. I have not met with any of them, during the late Rebellion, but what were zealous Friends to the Government.

Spoken

Spoken extempore by a Soldier, the Day after he receiv'd a Flannel Waiſtcoat, *thro' the Bounty of the* Quakers.

THIS Friendly Waiſtcoat keeps my Body warm,
Intrepid now I march, and fear no Harm!
Beyond a Coat of Mail, a ſure Defender,
Proof againſt *Pope*, the *Devil* and *Pretender*:
The *Highland Plaid* of no ſuch Power can boaſt,
Arm'd thus, I'll ruſh the foremoſt in the Hoſt;
Exert my utmoſt Art, my utmoſt Might,
And fight for thoſe whoſe Creed forbids to fight.

At this Time his Excellency Field Marſhal *Wade* had march'd the Army under his Command to *Wetherby*, where they encamp'd on the 5th; and the ſame Day Orders were given for the Horſe and Dragoons to proceed to *Doncaſter*, whither the Foot were to follow. By thus ranging the Troops, had the Rebels delay'd marching for two or three Days, their Retreat would have been compleatly cut off; and to have proceeded South, they muſt have met with, and been oblig'd to fight the Duke's Army; which I really believe they never deſign'd.

It is to be obſerv'd that the Second Son of the Pretender was arriv'd in *France* about

about this Time, where great Preparations were made for invading this Kingdom; though by the timely Care and prudent Precautions of the Right Hon. the Lords of the Admiralty, they were prevented by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, who was intruſted with the Command of a Fleet of Men of War in the Channel: Notwithſtanding this accaſioned much Confuſion, and prov'd in that Reſpect of ſome Service to the Rebels; but in another Senſe, prov'd of great Importance to the Nation ſince it heighten'd and augmented that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty which had ſo conſpicuouſly appear'd ſince the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People gave at this Time ſuch lively Teſtimonies, as were ſufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majeſty reigned in the Hearts and affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Perſons; yet in *Scotland* the Flame of Rebellion began again to ſpread itſelf, by the Aſſiſtance of the *French*, a Party of whom were landed under Sir *John Drummond*; an Account of which is as follows: *Nov-*

November 21. About Five o'Clock in the Evening a Ship attempted to come into the Harbour of *Montroſe* having no Boat to conduct her, run aſhore on the South-Side of the River, and upon the *Hazard* Sloop's firing, ſhe put out a *Britiſh* Flag; but ſome Hours after it was known ſhe was a *French* Man of War of 16 Carriage Guns, and 8 Swivels, and that ſhe had brought over Ld. *John Drummond*, with two Companies and a half of his Regiment; She came out in Company with three other Ships, who had on board the reſt of the Regiment, but had parted with them in ſtormy Weather and they obſerving the *Hazard* Sloop in the Harbour, ſuppoſed her to be one of their Conſorts, but on finding their Miſtake, they were employed that Night in carrying the Cannon aſhore from their ſtranded Ship, and erecting a Battery to command the Harbour.

Admiral *Byng*, who had the Command of the *Engliſh* Ships of War on the *Scotch* Coaſts, having Information that Lord

John

John Drummond was embark'd for *Scotland*, the Admiral order'd ſome Ships to cruize on the Coaſt, particularly between *Montroſe* and *Stonehave* where the *French* Ships had formerly landed; but they were driven off by a Storm.

On the 22d, a Boat belonging to the *Hazard* Sloop was attack'd by a Party of Rebels that had been hovering about the Harbour of *Montroſe* for ſome Time, who kill'd one and took four Priſoners and the Boat. On the 24th the *Milford* and *Ludlow-Caſtle*, which had been blown off the Coaſt, returned much ſhattered.

About this Time the Rebels made a Shift to get Poſſeſſion of the *Hazard* Sloop of War, which they effected in this Manner, *viz.*

Capt *Hill*, her Commander, had ſent a Party aſhore in his Boats who ſeiz'd all the Cannon and Arms on board the Ships in the Harbour of *Montroſe*, which he put on board a Veſſel in order to be tranſ-

tranſported to *Leith*. That Night about 200 Highlanders came into the Town, and kept very quiet, ſuffering no Intelligence to go to the Captain who next Day ſent his Long Boat with twenty Men aſhore, to make further Search for Arms; the Rebels as ſoon as they obſerv'd the Boat faſt a-ground, ruſh'd forward, kill'd one Man, and made the reſt Priſoners, without being obſerv'd by thoſe on board the Ship; and afterwards with the aſſiſtance of ſome Seamen, they mann'd out ſeveral Boats, and boldly boarded the Veſſel loaded with Cannon and Arms, which rode at ſome Diſtance from the *Hazard*, and made themſelves Maſter of her; then, with the aſſiſtance of this Ship, they atack'd the *Hazard*, who having loſt ſo many of the Crew, was oblig'd to ſtrike, after making ſome Reſiſtance. They gave the Command of the *Hazard*, in the Pretender's Name, to one of the Ship-Maſters, who had his Veſſel burnt by Capt. Hill's Orders; This Man was very inſtrumental in taking the *Hazard*. There was another large Ship from *Dunkirk* at

Montroſe; but the *Ludlow-Caſtle*, which rode at the Mouth of the River, not being a Match for her, was under a Neceſſity to cut her Cables and put to Sea. Admiral *Byng*, with four Men of War, came before that Harbour; but the Rebels had planted their Cannon ſo advantageouſly upon the Beech, that it was impoſſible to get at them; the *Milford*, loſt her Bowſprit, and received conſiderable Damage in her Rigging in attempting it

About this Time, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, with about 600 Men, was join'd by *Glenbucket* with 300, who took Poſſeſſion of and laid *Aberdeen* under Contribution, beſides obliging them to raiſe 500 Men, or to pay 5 *l* for each Man wanting of that number. Here they proclaim'd the Pretender, and likewiſe his Son Regent, with great Solemnity, Provoſt *Moriſon*, and the Aldermen, who kept a conſtant Correſpondence with the Lord Preſident, fled the City. and ſollicited Succours from him and the Earl of *Loudon*, who with Expedition ſent

ſent a Detachment of 800 Men, to recover *Aberdeen* out of the Hands of the Rebels; but they in that Interim had quitted the City, to go meet Lord *John Drummond*, who was landed at *Montroſe*, and whoſe Force then amounted to about 1700 Men; who hearing of Lord *Loudon's* Detachment on the Road to *Aberdeen*, march'd with the greateſt Speed poſſible to get thither before them, and gain'd his Point, while the others were twelve Miles Short of the City at *Inverury*, where they intended to lodge that Night; here they thought themſelves ſecure, as having had no Intelligence of this forced March of the Rebels back from *Montroſe*. Their Men were diſpoſed of in the neighbouring Village and Farm Houſes, except one Company, which ſtay'd with Captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*, who commanded the Detachment, which, the Evening before, had march'd through *Straithbogie*, where 600 of the *Grants* were under Arms; thoſe had promis'd the Lord Preſident to join Captain *Monroe*; but they let him ſet forward without fulfilling that Promiſe.

The Night Captain *Monroe* came to *Inverury*, where he quarter'd with one Company he was fallen upon (between Eight and Nine o'Clock, when it was very Dark) by the whole Force of the Rebels under Lord *John Drummond*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*; they immediately aſſaulted the Houſe in which were Captain *Monroe* and ſome other Officers, ſome of whom were undreſs'd and going to Bed. Notwithſtanding this Surprize, the Rebels met with a very reſolute, ſharp and obſtinate Reſiſtance; in which there were about 100 Men killed, of whom 40 were Loyaliſts: Captain *Monroe* and Captain *Macleod*, with a few of the brave Clans of their Names, fought their Way through the Multitude; but ſeveral other Officers and Men were taken Priſoners and carried to *Aberdeen*, from whence they were remov'd to *Perth*.

Lord *John Drummond* on his landing about 500 Men at *Peterhead* and *Montroſe*, was very ſoon join'd by the Party which Lord *Lewis Gordon* had been raiſing

ing in the *North*, as well as by others of the diſaffected Clans, ſuch as the *Mackenzies*, the *Mackintoſhes* the *Farquharſons*, and the *Fraziers*, to the Number of about 3000 Men; with which Force he drew down towards *Perth*, about the Time that the Mock Prince was at *Derby*.

December 21. Lord *John Drummond* ſet up the *French* Standard at *Dundee*, and read the *French* King's Declaration there, under a triple Diſcharge of his Artillery; conſiſting in Subſtance, *That he*, *Lord* John Drummond, *Commander in Chief of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Forces in* Scotland, *was come to make War againſt* George *King of* England, *Elector of* Hanover, *in Support of the Family of the* Stuarts; *declaring that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the King of* Spain, *were the Allies of the above Family*; *that they were reſolv'd to ſupport them with Men Arms, Ammunition and Money*; *and whoever would join and aſſiſt* Charles P of W——, *ſhould have the higheſt tokens of Favour*; *and*

that whoever reſiſted, ſhould feel the Weight of Military Reſentment in Proportion to the Zeal they ſhew for his preſent Majeſty.

The villainous and cruel Method this Deſperado took to raiſe Men for his Maſter's Service, was not only the readieſt Way to ſtagger the moſt violent Friends of Jacobitiſm and Arbitrary Power, but to enflame the Indignation of the loyal Part of the *Scots* Nation againſt him: For he ſent his Men thro' the Country, with lighted Faggots in their Hands, who call'd at Gentlemen and Farmers Houſes, enquiring how many Men Servants they had; and if they did not immediately ſend out whatever Number they demanded, they ſet Fire to their Houſes. The Fact will beſt appear by giving you the Order in full, which was as follows:

By

By Order of the Right Hon Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the Towns of *Aberdeen* and *Banff*.

WHEREAS I desir'd and order'd J. Moir *of* Stonywood, *to intimate to all the Gentlemen and their Doers, within the said Counties of* Aberdeen *and* Banff *to send into the Town of* Aberdeen *a well-bodied Man for each* 100 l Scots, *their valued Rent, sufficiently cloath'd; and in Consequence of my Order he wrote circular Letters to all the Heritors, and the above Counties, desiring them to send in a Man sufficiently cloath'd, &c. for each* 100 l. Scots *of their valued Rent, which desire they have not comply'd with; therefore I order and command you, to take a sufficient Party of my Men, and go to all the Lands in the above Counties and require from the Heritors, Factors or Tenants, as you think most proper, an able-bodied Man for his M—— K—— J——'s Service with sufficient Highland Cloaths, Plaid and Arms, for each* 100 l. *valued Rent, or the Sum of* 5 l. *Sterling*

ling Money for each of the above Men, to be paid to [illegible] M *of* Stoneywood, *or his Order, at* Aberdeen; *and in Case of refusal of the Men or Money, you are forthwith to burn all the Houses, Corn and Planting upon the aforesaid Estates; and to begin with the Heritor or Factor residing on the Land; and not to leave the said Lands until the above Execution be done unless they produce* Stoneywood's *Lines shewing they have delivered him the Men or Money.*

Given at *Aberdeen*, this 12th Day of of *December*, 1745.

Subscrib'd, LEWIS GORDON.

The Earl of *London*, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service in the North spar'd no Pains or Diligence in exciting the well affected Clans to join him; and by the Reinforcements he receiv'd from the Lords *Sutherland* and *Ray*, the *Macleods*, the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, and the *Guns*, he was soon 2000 strong. At *Edinburgh*

burgh likewiſe, and at *Glaſgow* they began to raiſe Men for the Service of the Government, with great Chearfulneſs and Succeſs; ſo that two good Regiments were compleated, beſides Independant Companies.

December 7. His Royal Highneſs got certain Intelligence that the Rebels were marching North on which he put himſelf next Morning at the Head of his Horſe and Dragoons, with ſome Volunteers in order to follow the Rebels and ſtop them until the Foot came up, which was impoſſible, for the Rebels Fears were ſo great that they run Day and Night, until they had got to *Carliſle*, where they had left a Garriſon; their Rout was as follows:

December 7. They march from *Aſhburn* to *Leek*, deſtroying in their paſſage what they judg'd might be of Uſe to the King's Troops that were in Purſuit of them, and ſhewing a warm Spirit of Reſentment for the Diſappointments they had met with, which provok'd the Country

Country People to do them all the Mischief they could; they carried their Train of Artillery with them

The 9th, about Noon, their Van-Guard reach'd * *Manchester*, and that Evening

---

* *Manchester* is situated on the Bank of the River *Irwell*, over which is a stately Stone-bridge going into *Salford*, which Village is only separated from *Manchester* by this River, as the City of *London* from *Southwark* by the River *Thames*. Tho' this is no City, Corporation, nor so much as a Town, strictly speaking, the highest Magistrate being a Constable or Headborough, yet it may be stiled the greatest meer Village in *England*, and is more populous than *York*, or most Cities in this Kingdom. The People here, including *Salford*, are computed to be no less than 30,000. As this Town is very populous, so the Inhabitants are very industrious, driving an extraordinary Trade in Fustian Manufactures, and that called *Manchester* Cottons for Women's Wear; for which it has been famous above 100 Years, and has been much improved of late, by some Inventions of Dying and Printing, which, with the great Variety of other Manufactures, known by the Name of *Manchester* Goods, as Tickings, Linnen, Checks, Hats, and all Kinds of what they call Small Wares, as Threads, Tapes, Filleting, Qualities, &c. greatly enrich the Town, and

Evening the Mock Prince with the main of his Army, came there, where they were

and render the People industrious, resembling those of *Holland*; the Children here being all employ'd to earn their Bread: They export vast Quantities of their Goods Abroad, as to the *West-Indies*, &c. As an Inland Town, is has the best Trade of any in these Northern Parts. I have already said that this Town is the most populous, and the Inhabitants the most industrious; to which I may add, that the Buildings are most sumptuous of any hereabout. Here is a fine, *Gothic* Church, which is Collegiate, built in 1742, a very large beautiful, and stately Edifice, with a Choir remarkable for its neat and curious carved Work; there belongs to it at present a College, consisting of one Warden, four Fellows, two Chaplains four singing Men, and four Choristers. The College was originally founded by *Thomas West*, Brother to the Lord *Delawar*, by the Name of St. *Mary's*, in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, to whom the Parish Church was before dedicated. It was founded a-new by Queen *Elizabeth*, in 1578, by the Name of *Christ's* College in *Manchester*, which Foundation was afterwards confirmed by King *Charles* I. in 1636, and incorporated by Archbishop *Laud*. Here is an Hospital, a School and a large Library well furnished with Books, founded by *Humphry Chetham*, Esq; about 100 Years ago, where sixty Boys are well maintain'd, cloath'd, and instructed in necessary Learning;

and

were not receiv'd as they had been before, nor have I hear'd that the new-made

and then put out Apprentices. As the Inhabitants become more numerous, in Proportion to the increaſe of their Trade, a new Pariſh is erected, and a new Church built in it, dedicated to St. *Anne*; and the Town is very much improved, by the building of a very handſome Street of ſtatly Houſes, at the End of which the ſaid Church is erected. Near this Church ſtands the *Presbyterian* Meeting-Houſe, which was pulled down by the *Jacobite* Mob at the Time of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, but was quickly rebuilt, and is now a very ſtately Structure, not inferior to any in *London*. This Town has a good Market Place and a modern Exchange, with many other elegant and magnificent Buildings. Here is likewiſe a ſmall *Baptiſt* Meeting Houſe, and a *Jacobite* Nonjuring Chapel. I don't know of what Body the Congregation conſiſts, they not allowing any to come amongſt them but ſuch as are of their own Sort, who (like the more worſhipful Society of Free Maſons) are under an Oath not to divulge what is tranſacted there, except it be to a juſt and lawful *Jacobite*, as he or ſhe ſhall appear to be upon Examination.

In this County the Women are generally very handſome, by which they have acquired the Name of *Lancaſhire Witches*, which Appellation they really deſerve, being very agreeable; but ſome

made Officers had the Compliments paid them as uſual on ſuch Occaſions; but on the

---

ſome of the pretty *Jacobites Witches* chuſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wearing Plaid Breaſt-Knots, Ribbons, and Garters tied above the Knee, which may be remonſtrated as dandgerous to the Conſtitution; for that above a Lady's Knee is of ſo attracting a Quality, as to endanger the drawing his Majeſty's good Subjects, not only the Civil but Military Gentlemen, off their Duty.

If rightly conſidered, the Fair Sex ſhould exert all their Charms to oppoſe this *Popiſh* Scheme, as one of them well repreſents it thus;

Surely, we Women have the ſtrongeſt Reaſon,
To ſtop the Progreſs of this *Popiſh* Treaſon;
When *Female Liberty* is now at Stake,
All Women ought to buſtle for its Sake.
Should these audacious Sons of *Rome* prevail,
Vows, *Convents*, and that hated Thing a *Veil*,
Muſt come in Faſhon; and ſuch Inſtitution,
Would ſuit but odly with our Conſtitutions:
What gay Coquet would brook a *Nun*'s Profeſſion
And we've ſome private Reaſons 'gainſt Confeſſion
Beſides, our good Men of the *Church*, they ſay,
(Who now, thank Heav'n, may *love* as well as *pray*)
Muſt then be only *wed* to *Cloiſter'd Houſes*;
Slap then we're *nick'd* of 20,000 Spouſes;
And Faith no *bad* ones, as I'm told; then judge ye,

the contrary, the Town's People, or at leaſt the Mob, gave them ſome pretty viſible Marks of their Diſlike; which was Puniſh'd immediately by an Order or Precept in the Name of the Mock Prince, and ſign'd and ſeal'd by Mr *Murray*, his Secretary, directed to the Conſtables and Collect ors of the Land-Tax for the Towns of *Mancheſter* and *Salford*, requiring them to levy and collect, by the next Day at Noon, the Sum of 2500 l. to be paid to Mr *Murray*, with a Promiſe of Payment, when the Country ſhould be ſettled under his Government.

On the 10th the Rebels left *Mancheſter*, and continu'd their March by *Pendleton-Pool*, towards *Leigh* and *Wigan*,

---

It's fit we looſe our *Benefit* of *Clergy*?
In *Freedom*'s Cauſe, ye Patriot Fair ariſe,
Exert the *ſacred Influence* of your Eyes;
On *Valiant Merit* deign alone to ſmile,
And vindicate the *Glory* of our Iſle;
To no *baſe* Rebel *proſtitute* your Charms;
In War withhand the Lover who *deſerts* his Arms;
So ſhall you *fire* each *Hero* to his *Duty*.
And *Britiſh Rights* be *ſav'd* by *Britiſh Beauty*.

which

which laſt Place they reach'd that Evening and puſh'd on from thence to *Preſton* the next Day, being extremely apprehenſive of finding themſelves ſurrounded in that Neighbourhood.

On the 13th, in the Morning, they quitted *Preſton*, and continu'd their March to *Lancaſter*, where they ſet open the Goal, and releas d the Rebel Priſoners taken by me, with ſome others, and behav'd in a very rude Manner, as appears by the following Letter tranſmitted to me by a Friend

Lancaſter, Dec. 19.

'THE Rebels in their Paſſage 'thro' this town laſt Week, be-'hav'd like a Parcel of the moſt con-'ſummate Villains: The meanet Part of 'them pilfer'd and ſtole every Thing 'portable for their Purpoſe; and their 'Chiefs ſent Ruffians to plunder and ex-'tort Money in a moſt brutal Manner, 'from Gentlemen who had exerted them-'ſelves moſt againſt them. From Mr

'*Gilliſon* they got 21 l. and a Party of
'the fierceſt of them were ſent to Dr.
'*Fenton's*, the Vicar of this Town, who
'committed all the Outrages there, their
'Malice ſuggeſted. The Doctor was
'fled; but they preſented ſeveral Piſtols
'and drawn Swords at a Time to the
'Breaſts and Heads of his Servants, and
'caus'd every Room, Cheſt, Drawer, and
'Box in the Houſe, to be open'd or
'broke open; out of which they took
'what they pleas'd; and then ſwore
'moſt vehemently they would burn the
'Houſe, unleſs 20l. was paid to redeem
'it. This ſo terrified the old Lady in the
'Houſe, that ſhe advanc'd that Sum in
'Behalf of the Doctor. No ſooner had
'they got the Money, but they bid the
'Doctor's Servants tell him, that they
'would ſhoot him thro' the Head when
'ever they met with him; for they ſwore
'they were well inform'd that he was
'the greateſt Enemy they had in *Lan-*
'*caſhire*, by his frequent preaching
'againſt them, and intimidating and re-
'ſtraining their Friends as a Juſtice of
'Peace.'

When

When they were in this Town a falſe Report aroſe, and was carried North, *viz* that the Kings Troops had come up with and totally defeated the Rebels near *Lancaſter*; which caus'd great Rejoicings in that Country, and many Candles and Tar-Barrles were burnt at *Whitehaven* on that Occaſion, with ſome Gunpowder,

On the 14th, the Rebels continu'd their Rout from *Lancaſter* to *Kendal*, where the Duke of *Perth*, with the advanc'd Guard, to the Number of about 100 Horſemen, enter'd in the Forenoon, but met with a bad Reception from the Townſmen, who were up in Arms to fall on theſe who had eſcap'd at the ſuppoſed Battle; ſo that they fir'd on *Perth's* Men, and there were ſome kill'd on both Sides. I have ſince ſeen the Place where one of the Rebels was buried, which is about four miles from *Kendal*, where he dropp'd and died of his Wounds.

On the 15th, *Perth* and his Horſemen got to *Penrith*, where the Townſmen

fell on them alſo; on which the Rebels retreated and fled, the Townſmen purſuing for ſeveral Miles, ſo that there was a pretty Sort of a Hunting Match; and altho' the Gentlemen of *Penrith* are not accuſtom'd to hunt on a Sunday, yet they follow'd the Chaſe that Day with great Alacrity, until they loſt both ſight and Scent of them. When the Rebels got back to *Shap*, which is a little Village in the Roaid betwixt *Perith* and *Kendal*, the Beacons were lighted on every Side; and being inform'd that it was done to raiſe the Country, and that the People were diſpos'd to fall on them, they thought proper to retire to *Kendal* which they accordingly did about Two in the Morning, where the Pretender with moſt of his Forces arriv'd. This Affair was likely to prove of bad Conſequence to the Towns of *Kendal* and *Penrith*, had not his Royal Highneſs been ſo nigh.

On the 16th, by Break of day, the Rebels began their March for *Penrith*, which they propos'd to have reach'd that Night

Night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at *Shap*; where I will leave them for the preſent, that I may the better give my Readers an Account of the Motions of the King's Forces in order to overtake them.

December 8. His Royal Highneſs ſet from *Miriam* Camp in Purſuit of the Rebels; and to facilitate his March, the Country People, firm and loyal to their King brought in Horſes to mount 1000 Foot Soldiers, draughted out of ſeveral Regiments, that were to follow the Duke in order to overtake the Rebels; our Foot Soldiers not being accuſtomed to riding, I thought they looked odd on Horſe-back, with their Muſkets and Knap-Sacks ſlung over their ſhoulders; but their Deſire to come up with the Rebels was viſible in every one of their Countenances; with ſo much Pleaſure they rode along, and the Countrymen with freſh Horſes coming to remount our Soldiers, running themſelves on Foot very chearfully, that it really afforded a moſt pleaſing Proſpect,

On

On the Duke's Arrival at *Cheadle*, in *Staffordshire*, the Country People brought in a Rebel Spy, which they deliver'd to our Army, when on our March to *Macclesfield*, where he was hang'd on a Gibbet, and order'd to ſwing until Eight o'Clock that Night; when about that Time, Mr G —— *A*——, an Apothecary and Surgeon, in that Town, went to the Centinel to buy the Body, which he bought for 4s 6d. The Dragoon who ſold it thought it a good Price, and the Doctor was likewiſe well pleas'd with his Bargain; intending to anatomize his Carcaſe, and expected to have had Leather of the Skin (worth his Money) which he accordingly gave to a Tanner to dreſs; but the Miracle Mongers ſaid, that the Hide was of ſo holy a Nature, that it would not Tan. nor be confin'd to lie under Water, by any Weight that could be put upon it; ſo that the Tanner after much Labour loſt, was oblig'd to take his holy Hide and bury it. As the Perſon died a Martyr to a good Cauſe, as they call it, and enliſted himſelf under the Banner of Rebellion, with a holy Reſolution

ſolution to murder the King and Royal Family, with all other Hereticks out of the Pale of their Catholick Church; if this Skin had been preſerv'd and well manag'd, by a skinful Prieſt, their might have been as many Miracles wrought by it, as any holy Relict brought from *Rome*, though bought there at an high Price.

On the 10th, the Duke arriv'd at *Macclesfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having a Body of 1000 Foot, at no great Diſtance; from whence he ſent Orders to *Mancheſter* and other Places, that nothing might be neglected, that would contribute to retard or diſtreſs the Enemy.

On the 11th, Major *Wheatley* was detach'd with an advanc'd Party of Dragoons to harraſs the Rear of the Rebels, and to join the Light-arm'd Troops that were expected from the other Army; the Motions of which ſhall be next accounted for to this Time; after which the Purſuit was entirely under his Royal Highneſs's Direction. His

His Excellency Field-Marſhal *Wade* having receiv'd certain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Rebels, and of the Situation of the King's Troops, under the Command of his Royal Highneſs, held, on the 8th of *December*, a great Council of War at *Ferry-Bridge*, to conſider of the moſt effectual Means for cutting off the Retreat of the Rebels march'd directly by *Wakefield* and *Halifax* to *Lancaſhire*, as the moſt likely Way to intercept the *Highlanders*, but arriving at *Wakefield* on the 10th, and having Advice that the Main Body of the Rebels were at *Mancheſter*, and their Van-Guard moving from thence to *Preſton*, his Excellency now finding that it was impoſſible to come up with them, judg'd it neceſſary to fatigue his Troops with hard Marches, and therefore detach'd Major-General *Oglethorpe*, on the 10th, with the Cavalry under his Command; and then he began his March with the reſt of his Forces for *Newcaſtle*.

On the 13th, a great Body of Horſe and Dragoons, that were, as has been ſaid

ſaid, under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, arriv'd at *Preſton*, having march'd 100 Miles in three Days, over Snow and Ice, which was a noble Teſtimony of Zeal and Spirit eſpecially in the new-rais'd Troops. His Royal Highneſs arriv'd about One o'Clock at the ſame Place, and immediately gave his Orders for continuing the Purſuit of the Rebels, with the utmoſt Diligence; there was a Rebel Spy taken and executed here.

On the 14th, General *Oglethorpe* advanc'd towards *Lancaſter*, which Place the Duke reach'd on the 16th. General *Oglethorpe* continu'd his Purſuit at the Heels of the Rebels, and on the 17th the Major-General and his Royal Highneſs enter'd at *Kendal*, having now more Hopes of coming up with the Enemy than any Time during the March; and the Diſpoſitions which were made by the Duke for that Purpoſe were ſuch, as ſhew'd the utmoſt Penetration and Military Skill.

On

On *Wedneſday* the 18th of *December*, the King's Light Horſe, after ten Hours March, came in Sight of the Rebels, near *Lowther-Hall*, where they ſurpriz'd the Duke's Running Footman and took him Priſoner; from whom they learn'd, that his Royal Highneſs with his Cavalry was coming up at a little Diſtance; on which Information the Rebels threw themſelves into the Village of *Clifton*, from whence Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Rear-Guard, diſpatch'd his Aid-de-Camp to *Penrith*, which is three Miles, to acquaint the *Pretender* therewith, who immediately order'd a Body of Horſe and Foot to reinforce Lord *George*, and a Deſign was form'd to ſurprize the Light-Horſe; to which End, a Party march'd through Lord *Londſdale*'s Park to get behind them; in the mean Time, the Rebels at *Clifton* had poſted themſelves in the moſt advantageous Manner, by lining every Hedge, Orchard, and Out-houſe, from the South End of *Clifton*, to *Thomas Savage*'s, a Quaker at the Foot of the Moor, where a Party of the Rebels were poſted and

and from whence they made the firſt Fire at the Duke's Huſſars. By this Time his Royal Highneſs, with the Dragoons was come up and the Rebels Ambuſcade was fully form'd, from whence, it is very likely, the King's Troops might have receiv'd conſiderable Damage, had not *Jonathan Savage*, who went thro' the Fields in Danger of his Life, acquainted the Duke with the Rebels Deſign. His Royal Highneſs having before ſent a Party to *Lowther-Hall*, and to the Wood, and another Party under General *Oglethorpe*, which mov'd to the Right, drew up his Troops; on *Clifton* Moor, and advanc'd; but finding it impoſſible to come at the Rebels on Horſeback, order'd Detachments from *Bland's* Lord *Mark Kerr's* and *Cobham's* Dragoons to diſmount and attack the Ambuſcades, and the Poſts the Rebels were in Poſſeſſion of, which they regularly did with great Reſolution: The Action was very ſharp and deſperate while it laſted, but at laſt ended in our Favour, notwithſtanding the Rebels, from their Situation, had

greatly the Advantage of us, we being oblig'd to go over the Hedges up to the Boot Tops in Water; not only ſo, but it being late in the Evening, they could ſee our Buff-Belts and Lac'd Hats, when we could not ſo well diſcern their Blue Bonnets and Dark-colour'd Plaids; ſo that we directed our Fire at their Fire, which was very hot on both Sides Notwithſtanding theſe Diſadvantages, we puſh'd them with ſuch Intrepidity, that in about an Hour they quitted the Field and the neighbouring Villages, and fled to *Penrith.*

It was ſo late before the Affair was over, and the Country ſo cover'd, that it was impoſſible to follow them with any Probability of Succeſs, ſo that his Royal Highneſs took up his Quarters at *Thomas Savage's* Houſe, who rejoic'd much in Spirit, that ſuch a Gueſt was come under his Roof. There were of the King's Forces eleven kill'd, and twenty-nine wounded; of the former there were ſeven of *Bland's* three of *Cobham's*, nd one of *Mark Kerr's*; amongſt the latter

latter, were four Officers, *viz* Colonel *Honywood*, Captain *East*, and the Coronets *Owen* and *Hamilton*. On the Side of the Rebels their Loſs is not certainly known, we found five dead in the Field; and a Countryman told me, that there were about thirty ſeen, whom the Rebels had thrown into a River that the Number of their Slain might not be known: One of the Duke's Huſſars took Mr *Hamilton*, Captain of the Rebel Huſſars, and cut him in the Head. I ſaw him that Night after the Skirmiſh in a very bloody Condition, and afterwards ſaw him executed at *York*; of which I ſhall give an Account in its proper Place. One *Ogden* of *Mancheſter*, was likewiſe taken by an Huſſar, who after he had begg'd his Life, privately drew a Piſtol and ſhot at the Huſſar, but miſs'd him; he in return cut *Ogden* down the Side of his Head: I have ſince been inform'd that he died in *Lancaſter* Goal.

The King's Troops continu'd under Arms all Night, which was very rainy, and in the Morning we had about ſixty

of the Rebels Priſoners, many of them being pick'd up by the Country People Whilſt the Rear-Guard of the Rebels was engag'd with the King's Forces at *Clifton* their main Body was at *Penrith*, and ſo apprehenſive of being overtaken, that at Ten o'Clock that Night, they order'd their Artillery and Baggage to advance towards *Carliſle*; and on the 19th in the Morning they enter'd that City, exceſſively fatigu'd, and in much Conſuſſion; where I will leave them at this Juncture, until I give an Account of the Means uſed to recover the City.

On the 19th his Royal Highneſs enter'd *Penrith* with his Cavalry, and continu'd there two Days, until his Infantry came up: His Preſence at that Time afforded much Satisfaction to the Town's People; for nothing but the Intrepidity of the Purſuit could have ſav'd the Town from the Reſentment of the Rebels, as they had threatened them, for driving back the advanc'd Guard, already taken Notice of, and another Affair that I had forgot to mention in its proper Place, which happen'd as follows: On

On the 27th of *November*, Lord *Kilmarnock's* Son with eighteen other Rebels. came from *Carliſle* to *Penrith*, all on Horſeback, with their Swords drawn, and demanded Billets for 1000 Men, whom they pretended were to follow them; but on perceiving that the Town's People were conſulting to fall upon them, they rode off in great Haſte that Night to *Lowther-Hall*, the Seat of Lord *Londſdale*, where they lock'd faſt the Gates, and ſent three of their Number to watch the Approach of Diſturbers; the reſt went into the Houſe, where they broke Fourteen Locks, in order to plunder: They order'd a fine Supper, and got Liquor of all Kinds, expecting to be all well mounted the next Morning; but one of Lord *Lonaſdale's* Stewards getting away to *Penrith*, he return'd with about 30 brave ſtout young Men well arm'd, who were reſolv'd to conquer or die in the Attempt; they got to *Lowther-Hall* about Eleven that Night, when the Guards having alarm'd the Gentlemen, who were juſt ſitting down to Supper, they immediately got to Arms, and there was

pretty ſmart firing on both Sides for about half an Hour, the one Party being within, and the other without; but the *Penrith* Men forc'd their Way in, and took eleven Priſoners who were ſent to Marſhal *Wade*'s Army: Three of the Rebels, it was thought, died of their Wounds: There was but one of the * *Penrith* Men

---

* *Penrith* is a pretty Market Town, and I believe may be reckon'd the 2d Town for Wealth in the County of *Cumberland*. It is pleaſantly ſituated on a good Soil, and was fortified on the Weſt Side with a Royal Caſtle, which in the Reign of *Henry* VI. was repaired out of the Ruins of *Maburgh*, a *Daniſh* Temple hard by, but is now in Ruins itſelf. It is adorned with a handſome Church, and has a large Market-Place, where there is an Edifice of Timber, for the Uſe of ſuch as reſort hither to Market, garniſhed with Bears climbing up a ragged Staff, which was the Device of the Earls of *Warwick*. The Town is built of Red-Stone, from whence it is called *Penrith*, which in *Britiſh* ſignifies a *Red-Hill* or *Head*. In the Church-Yard here, on the North-Side, are erected two large Pillars, of about five Yards Diſtance from each other; it is ſaid, they were ſet up in Memory of one Sir *Eguin Cæſarias*, in old Times a famous Warrior, of great Strength and Stature, who lived in thoſe Parts, and killed wild Bears in the

Men that was ſlightly hurt; and as a Recompence for their Bravery, they got fifteen Horſes and ſome good Arms. Lord *Kilmarnock's* Son, and one *C--v--g*, of *Northumberland*, and ſome others, having been brought up at *Lowther* School, and knowing all the Roads about the Houſe eſcap'd.

The Rebels did not ſtay long at *Carliſle*; for after charging the Garriſon on the 20th of *December*, they continu'd their march Northward, croſſing the River *Eſk* tho' very deep; but they choſe rather to venture drowning (which

---

the Foreſt of *Inglewood*, which much infeſted the Country. He was buried here, they ſay, and that the rude Figures of Bears, which are in Stone, and erected two on each Side of his Grave, between the Pillars, are in Memory of his great Exploits upon thoſe Creatures. Upon the North Outſide of the Veſtry in the Wall, in rude Characters, is this Writing, for a Memorandum to Poſterity, *Fuit Peſtis*, &c. *i. e.* There was a Plague *A. D.* 1598, of which there died at *Kendal* 2500; at *Richmond* 2200; at *Penrith* 2266; and at *Carliſle* 1196.

was

was the Fate of ſome) than ſtay to give the Duke Battle; ſo that Day the young Pretender enter'd *North-Britain*, leaving the Garriſon to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could: At his Departure, he comforted the Garriſon with the Promiſe of a ſpeedy relief; for as Lord *John Drummond* was landed in *Scotland* with ſome *French* Forces, he promis'd to return with them and deſir'd that they would hold out the Garriſon, which they promis'd to do to the laſt Extremity: For this Purpoſe, they having all the Cannon with them, mounted them on the Walls, and carried all the Proviſions they could find, into the Caſtle leaving the Inhabitants very little to ſubſiſt upon; and they could get none from the adjacent Country, as knowing, that whatever was carried into the Town would be taken from them by the Rebels: But they did not continue in this diſtreſſed Condition long; for on the 20th, the King's Infantry arrived at *Penrith*, and an advanc'd Party march'd to *Heſket*, within eight Miles of *Carliſle*; but having no Cannon that Day

Day I was ſent to *Whitehaven*, to order the battering Cannon from thence the People roſe in a Body and got Horſes and Carriages ready with all Expedition: They were ten Pieces of Eighteen Pounders of which four were drawn by forty Horſes of Sir *James Lowther*, Bart. which went along pretty briskly; but I ſaw 16 or 18 of the Country Horſes to a Gun, and often ſet, the Roads being very ſoft. At my Return on the 22d, I found that *Carliſle* had been inveſted on the 21ſt by the King's Troops Major-General *Bland* with St. *George's* Dragoons, and 300 Men of *Bligh's* Regiment, had taken Poſt on the *Scotch* Side, with Orders to prevent any Paſſage over the Bridge upon the River *Eden*, which leads directly to the *Scotch* Gate: Major *Adams* with 200 Foot, was poſted at *Butcherby* near the *Engliſh* Gate, to prevent any of the Garriſon eſcaping that Way: Major *Meriac* at *Cau ey*, near the *Iriſh* Gate, with the ſame Orders: And Sir *Andrew Agnew* at the Salley Port, with 300 Men. All the Horſe and Foot Guards were canton'd round the Town

Town at a Mile or two Diſtance. His Royal Highneſs had fix'd his Head Quarters at *Blackhall*; and a great many People came out of the Country to aſſiſt the King's Army with Clubs and Staves, and ſuch other Weapons as they had: the Game-Law forbidding the Uſe of Fire-Arms. The Countrymen being moſt of them of no Uſe, and their Number being about 10,000 his Royal Highneſs order'd them all to return Home, except a few who were employ'd in cutting Faſcines for the Batteries; the Duke's Regular Forces at this Time, were about four Thouſand.

Marſhal *Wade* having Intelligence of what had paſſed at *Clifton*, detach'd a conſiderable Body of Foot to reinforce the Duke's Army, and gave ſuch other Orders as were requiſite for haſtening thither the Artillery and Ammunition that was wanting to carry on the Siege; but all thoſe Wants were ſupplied from *Whitehaven*. On the 29th, Part of the Cannon from thence arriv'd: The Rebel Garriſon, moſtly compoſed of *Engliſh* Recruits

Recruits, and *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*'s Men commanded by one *Hamilton* formerly Steward to the Duke of *Gordon* in all about 400 Men, appear'd at firſt to make a vigorous Defence, firing their Cannon on every Body that appear'd.

On the 28th, about Eight in the Morning, our Forces began to batter their four and ſeven Gun Batteries, with ſix Eighteen Pounders; at which the Rebel Garriſon were as much ſurpriz'd as if they had felt the Shock of an Earthquake, wondering from whence thoſe roaring Guns came, knowing the *Engliſh* Army brought none with them; thus we continu'd playing upon them until Mid-Afternoon, by which Time many of the Rebels Cannon were diſmounted, and their Batteries put to Silence; then they retreated to their ten Gun Battery which pointed Eaſtward, and continu'd firing from that Time until Morning: In the Night the Rebels were much perplex'd with Cohorns that we flung into the Caſtle, the Sailors from *Whitehaven* aſſiſted in working the Cannon

Cannon, ſo that upwards of eleven hundred Shot were fir'd that Day. We had one Man kill'd; and the Rebels 16 kill'd and wounded. On the 19th, it was found neceſſary to abate the Firing from the Battery for want of Shot. That Day I was ſent to order two thouſand Cannon Shot, Eighteen Pounders, to be made at a Furnace about twenty-four Miles Diſtance from the Garriſon. During this Interval, the Rebels had got their Batteries repair'd, and began afreſh to fire on our Battery; but in the Evening ſeveral Horſes arriving at our Battery loaden with Shot, his Royal Highneſs immediately gave Orders to renew the Fire, and that the Guns ſhould be levell'd at the Salley-Port, where he intended the Breach ſhould be made; at which they continu'd battering very briskly for two Hours, and rent the Walls very much.

On the Night of the 29th, his Royal Highneſs order'd *Belford* Major of the Train, to raiſe a new Battery of three Eighteen Pounders, about fifty Yards to the

the Northward of the former, which was compleated by the Morning; but on the firſt Platoon of the old Battery firing, the Rebels hung out a White Flag; whereupon the Battery ceaſed, and they call'd over the Walls that they had two Hoſtages ready to be deliver'd at the *Engliſh* Gate; which is on the oppoſite Side of the Town. About this Time there was a Man taken and brought to the Duke, who produced two Letters, one Directed to his Royal Highneſs, and the other to the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, ſuppos'd to be with his Army They were from a Perſon ſtiling himſelf the Commander of the *French* Artillery, and the *French* Garriſon that was at, or might come to *Carliſle*, who ſubſcrib'd his Name *De Geognegan* for the Defence of the Town and Citadel; the Contents of them were, to Summon the Commander of the *Dutch*, to retire with his Troops from the *Engliſh* Army, under the ſpecious Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay*,

His Royal Highneſs's *Meſſage* to the *Rebels* at *Carliſle*, on their hanging out a White Flag, on *Monday* Morning, *December* 30, 1745.

HIS Royal Highneſs will make no Exchange of Hoſtages with Rebels, and deſires they will let him know (by me) *what they mean by hanging out the White Flag.*

To let the French *Officer know, if there is one in Town, that there are no* Dutch *Troops here, but enough of the King's Troops to chaſtiſe the Rebels, and thoſe who dare give them any Aſſiſtance.*

Sign'd Col. CONWAY, Aid-de-Camp to his Royal Highneſs.

The *Anſwer* of *John Hamilton*, to his Royal Highneſs the DUKE'S *Meſſage* to the *Rebels* in *Carliſle*, *Dec.* 30, 1745.

IN Anſwer to the ſhort Note ſent by his Royal Highneſs Prince William *Duke of* Cumberland, *the Governor, in*

Name

Name of himſelf, and all the Officers and Soldiers, Gunners, and others belonging to the Garriſon, deſire to know what Terms his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to give them upon Surrender of the City and Caſtle of Carliſle; *and which known, his Royal Highneſs ſhall be duly acquainted with the Governor and Garriſon's laſt, or ultimate Reſolution, the White Flag being hung out on Purpoſe to obtain a Ceſſation of Arms for concluding ſuch a Capitulation.*

JOHN HAMILTON.

This was given to the Duke's Aid-de-Camp.

His Royal Highneſs's *Declaration* to the *Rebels*, ſent by the Colonels *Conway* and Lord *Bury*, Aid's de-Camp to his Royal Highneſs on receiving *John Hamilton*'s Letter, *December* 30th, 1745.

ALL the Terms his Royal Highneſs will, or can grant to the Rebel Garriſon at Carliſle, *are, That they ſhall not*

be put to the Sword, but be reſerved for the King's Pleaſure.

If they conſent to theſe Conditions the Governor and Principal Officers are to deliver themſelves up immediately, and the Caſtle, Citadel, and all the Gates of the Town are to be taken Poſſeſſion of forthwith by the King's Troops; all the ſmall Arms are to be lodg'd in the Town Guard Room, and the reſt of the Garriſon are to retire to the Cathedral, where a Guard is to be plac'd over them. No Damage is to be done to the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition.

By his Royal Highneſs's Command,

RICHMOND, LENOX, AUBIGNY.

Lieutenant General of the King's Forces.

Head Quarters at *Blackhall*,
Dec. 30. half an Hour paſt
Two in the Afternoon.

The

The *Rebels Anſwer* to the *Terms* offered them by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of CUMBERLAND, *December* 30th, 1745.

THE *Governor of* Carliſle, *and all the Officers compoſing the Garriſon, agree to the Terms of Capitulation given in, and ſubſcribed by Order of his Royal Highneſs, by his Grace the Duke of* Richmond, Lenox, *and* Aubigny, *Lieutenant General of his Majeſty's Forces recommending themſelves to his Royal Highneſs's Clemency, and that his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to interpoſe for them with his Majeſty; and that the Officers Cloaths and Baggage may be ſafe, with a competent Time to be allowed to the Citizens of* Carliſle, *to remove their Beds and Bed-Cloaths, and other Houſhold Furniture impreſſed from them for the Uſe of the Garriſon in the Caſtle.*

Dec. 30, 1745, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon.

After the Capitulation was agreed upon Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Poſſeſſion of the Town with a Detachment of 400 Guards, 700 Foot, and 120 Horſe. The Officers yielded themſelves Priſoners immediately, and their Men laid down their Arms in the Market-Place, and retir'd into the Cathedral; ſo that they defiled the Temple, which uſed to be the Houſe of Prayer, but was now become a Den of Thieves, where a Guard was ſet 'till his Royal Highneſs could otherwiſe diſpoſe of them Such was the Iſſue of this wild Undertaking; and ſo ſoon were thoſe who pretended to defend the Place to the laſt Extremity, reduc'd to ſurrender it and themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion.

A LIST *of the Rebel Officers, &c. taken at* Carliſle.

Engliſh.		*Scots.*		*French.*	
Colonel	1	Governor	1	Officers	3
Captains	5	Surgeon	1	Serjeant	1
Lieuten.	6	Captains	6	Priv. Men	4
Enſigns	7	Lieuten.	7		
Chaplain	1	Enſigns	3	Total	8
Adjutant	1				
Non-Commiſſion Officers & private Men	93	Non-Commiſſion Officers & private men	256	*Engliſh*	114
				Scots	274
				French	8
Total	114	Total	274	In all	396

Artillery. Braſs one and a half Pounders with Carriages 6; Braſs Octagon with Carriage 1; Braſs four Pounders with Carriages 3; Braſs Cohorns 4; Royals 2. In all 16.

Of the above-mention'd Priſoners there were ſeven that had deſerted from the King's Army at *Preſton-Pans*, and join-

ed

ed the Rebels; who with four others of the ſame Sort, were hang'd at *Harriby*.

At the entering of *Carliſle*, I got a Basket-hilted, Back Sword of curious Workmanſhip; I ſuppoſe made in *France* for one of the Rebel Chiefs: The Basket-Hilt was cloſe and well wrought, fit only for a ſmall Hand; the Blade in Proportion was light, well mounted, and gilt, with the Pretender's Effigy engraven on it, holding a Globe in one Hand, and a Scepter in the other, with this Inſcription,

Long Live King JAMES the III, of *Great Britain*

And on the other Side was,

With this good Sword thy Cauſe I will maintain:
And for thy ſake, O JAMES, will breath each Vein.

Although the whole was a Piece of neat Work, yet I had no Fancy to wear it on Account of its Motto.

On the firſt of *January*, his Royal Highneſs entered *Carliſle* with all his Army

Army which fill'd the Town very full, but did not continue ſo long; for the next Day the *Liverpool* Blues and ſome other Regiments began to march off: I had very good Quarters at the *George*, which I much wanted for ſome Time paſt, not having been in Bed, nor my Boots off all the Time that we lay before *Carliſle*; and as we had bad Weather the Army in General was very much fatigu'd with following the Rebels

It may be expected that I ſhould give the Names of the Officers taken at *Carliſle*.

Engliſh *Rebel Officers of the* Manchester *Regiment*,

Colonel. *Francis Townley*, of *Lancaſhire*.

Captains. *Peter Moſs*, *James Dawſon*, and *George Fletcher*, of *Lancaſhire*, *John Saunderſon*, of *Northumberland*, and *Andrew Blood*, of *Yorkſhire*.

Lieut.

Lieutenants. *Thomas Deacon*, *Robert Deacon*, *John Berwick* *John Holker*, and *Thomas Chadwick*, of *Lancaſhire*, and *Thomas Furnival*, of *Cheſhire*.

Enſigns. *Charles Deacon*, of *Lancaſhire*, *Charles Taylor*, *James Wielding*, *John Betts*, and *William Bradſhaw*, of *Northumberland*, and *Samuel Madox*, of *Cheſhire*.

Thomas Coppock, of *Lancaſhire*, made by the Pretender Biſhop of *Carliſle*; but he did not continue long in his Biſhoprick, and was the firſt of his Function that I ever know to be hang'd.

EPITAPH, on his Grace the Mock Biſhop.

BENEATH this Stone a Biſhop Lies,
In ſure and certain Hope,
Who did by curs'd Rebellion Riſe;
But fell by Hempen-Rope.
Ah! *Tom* thy Politick did fail,
When firſt thou did aſpire:
Thy Splendid Palace prov'd a Goal,
And Brother *Rogues* thy Choir.
Thy Golden Keys were ſtole be ſure,
Which made this wild miſtake:
Inſtead of op'ning Heav'ns door,
Did thee a Priſoner make;

Thy

Thy Mitre's heavier far than Lead,
Ah! who thy Fate can alter,
They preſs'd thy proud preſumptious Head,
Thy Garter prov'd a Halter,
Then ſay of him, there lies a Fool,
Altho' Biſhop was his Stile;
The firſt ſo made by *Burban*'s Tool,
In this our *Britiſh* Iſle;
Hence *Chevalier* ſtay thy Hand,
How granting ſuch Promotions,
Unleſs thy Prelates firmer Stand:
To Functions and Devotions.

Adjutant. *Thomas Sydall*, of *Lancaſhire*, Son to the famous *Tom Sydall*, a Mob Captain who was Priſoner in *Lancaſhire* Goal for the Riot at *Mancheſter*, when the Presbyterian-Houſe was pulled down at the Time of Rebellion in the Year 1715, and ſet at Liberty by the Rebels; he was afterwards taken at *Preſton*, and his Head became an Ornament for the Top of a Gibbet at *Mancheſter*; as that of his Son *Tom Sydall* (with *Thomas Deacon*'s) is now to the Exchange, for being concerned in the late Rebellion; at which, it is ſaid, his Wife can look up with ſeeming Satisfaction, and ſay, *She has another* Tom Sydall *growing up againſt the next Rebellion.*

Scots

Scots *REBEL Officers.*

Governor. *John Hamilton.*

Captains *Robert Forbes*, in *Gordon's* Regiment, *John Burnet*, in *Grant's* of *Aberbeenſhire*, *George Abernethy*, in *Ogilvie's* of *Bamffſhire* *Donald M'Donald*, in *Keppoch's* of *Inverneſsſhire* *John Comer*, in *Athol's* of the *Braes* of *Athol.*

Lieutenants *Charles Gordon*, in *Ogilvie's*, *James Gordon*, in *Grant's*, of *Aberdeenſhire*, *Walter Ogilvie*, in *Gordon's* *William Stewart*, in *Roy Stewart's* of *Bamffſhire*, *Alexander M'Grouther*, *James Nicholſon*, in *Perths* of *Perthſhire.*

Enſigns. *Walter Mitchell* *George Ramſey*, in *Perth's*, of *Aberdeenſhire*, *James Menzie*, of *St. Germain's* in *France*, in *Roy Stewart's.*

James Stratton, of *Berwickſhire*, Surgeon to the Garriſon.

Doctor

Doctor *Abernethy*, near *Bamff* I was at his Houſe, when on our March to the Highlands, of whom I ſhall give an Account in its proper Place.

French OFFICERS.

Sir *Francis Geognegan*, of *Thoulouſe*, Captain in *Lally's* Regiment.
Sir *John Arbuthnot*, of *ditto*, Captain in *Drummond's*.
—— —— *Strictland*, of *ditto*, Colonel in no Regiment.
Pierre La Lecke, of *Diepe*, Serjeant in *Lally's*.
Francis Carpentier, of *ditto*.
Jean Pouſſin, of *ditto*.
Pierre Vickman, of *ditto*.
Pierre Bourgogne, of *Tourrant*.

After his Royal Highneſs had given ſuch Orders, and diſpos'd of all Things as he judg'd moſt proper, leaving the Command to General *Hawley* he ſet out from *Carliſle*, on *Thurſday* the Third of *January*, and was at *London* on the *Sunday* following.

On the 3d there was an Accident happen'd at the Houſe of Mr *Himor*, in *Carliſle*: A Box in which was ſome Gunpowder, being laid in a lower Room Window, near ſome Grenado Shells ready fill'd, and a Caſe of Piſtols, together with ſome Muskets in the ſame Room; it being in the Houſe where the Recorder kept his Office, there was a great Reſort of People to it, getting their Paſſports ſigned; when a Boy accidentally happening to ſnap one of the Piſtols, it went off, and fired the Grenado Shells, Powder Box, Piſtols and Muskets, which all flew off at once: By the Exploſion, the Window and one Man were blown quite into the Street. This caus'd a great Surprize and Confuſion, the Occaſion not being known; the Guards ſtood to their Arms, and the Houſe being all in a Smoak, ſuch as could find the Way to the Door came out with their Hair ſinged; yet it is very remarkable their was no body killed.

Before

Before I follow the Rebels into *Scotland*, I think it proper to return to *London* (having already mention'd what has been done for the Defence of the Government, in ſeveral different Towns and Places; and to note by the Way, that the Coaſts were well ſecured againſt the threatned Invaſion from *France*, by the Vigilance and Activity of our Sea Commanders) to ſhew what was doing in that great Metropolis.

His Majeſty having reſolv'd to form an Army near *London*, to be ready upon any Emergence that might happen; Orders were iſſu'd *December* the Fourth, for the Regiments of *Scots* Highlanders, and ſome other Regments of Horſe and Foot, that were quarter'd about *Deptford*, in *Kent*, to March to *Finchley* Common to encamp there. A few Days after, a Train of 32 pieces of Cannon, with Carriages, Powder-Wagoons, &c were drawn out of the Tower, and twenty-four Cheſts of Arms were ſent from the ſame Place for the Uſe of the Army, which his Majeſty was deter-

min'd to command in Perſon, but upon Advice that the Rebels were retreated out of *England*, and that there were Grounds to apprehend an Invaſion in the South and South Eaſt Part of the Kingdom, the forming a Camp on *Finchley* Common was countermanded, the Attillery carried back into the Tower, and the Forces which were canton'd at *Barnet*, and in the neighbouring Towns and Villages, were order'd into *Kent* and *Suſſex*.

On the 7th, a great Number of Sailors attended at the Admiralty, in Conſequence of the Intimation that they had that Day receiv'd, that their Country ſtood in Need of their immediate Service, and enter'd themſelves with remarkable Chearfulneſs and Alacrity; they were order'd on board ſeveral Privateers and ſmall Veſſels lying in the River, which were taken into the Service of the Government, and were to ſail directly to prevent the landing of the *French* Troops, ſaid to be actually embark'd at *Oſtend* and *Dunkirk*. Signals were order'd

der'd to be plac'd on the *Suſſex*, *Kentiſh*, and *Eſſex* Coaſts, by hoiſting Flags in the Day, and firing Guns in the Night, by which Means Notice of an Invaſion would be at the *Tower* and St. *James's* Park in a few Hours. All the Life-Guards and Horſe-Grenadiers were order'd to be ready at the firing of ſome Guns, which were to be as a Signal. Orders were ſent by the Lords of the Admiralty to all Commanders of Ships in the River, not to fire a Gun upon any Account, that the Signal-Guns might be the more plainly heard, in Caſe of any Invaſion or Inſurrection. Three Thouſand Foot and one Thouſand Horſe were order'd for the Coaſts of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, and Four Thouſand Foot and One Thouſand Five Hundred Horſe for the Coaſts of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, in order to be ready to oppoſe any foreign Invaſion. All the Forts and Caſtles in the Kingdom were order'd to be doubly garriſon'd, and a Magazine of Arms to be eſtabliſh'd in each of the Forts or Caſtles, in order to obvite the Inconveniency and Danger of waiting for Arms

from the *Tower* of *London*, upon any ſudden Emergency.

The Lord-Mayor and Court of Lieutenancy of *London* order'd, " That " whereas his Majeſty has been pleas'd " to direct, that Alarm-Poſts ſhould be " appointed, and proper Signals to give " Notice to the Guards to march on the " firſt Notice of any Tumult or Inſurrection in the Cities of *London* or " *Weſtminſter*; and that the ſaid Signals " ſhould be ſeven Cannon, one fir'd " every half Minute from the *Tower*, " to be anſwer'd from St *James*'s Park, " and *vice verſa*, every Officer and " Soldier in the Six Regiments of Militia " without waiting for Beat of Drum, " or any other Notice, do immediately, " on hearing the ſaid Signals, repair " with their Arms, and the uſual Quantity of Powder and Ball, to their reſpective Rendezvous; the Red Regiment upon *Tower-Hill*, the Green in *Guild-Hall-Yard*, the Yellow in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, the White at the *Royal Exchange*, the Blue in old " *Fiſh-*

" *Fiſh-Street*, and the Orange Regiment " in *Weſt-Smithfield*." The two Regiments of Tower Hamlets had alſo the like Orders; the Firſt to meet on *Tower-Hill*, and the Second in *Sun-Tavern* Fields, *Shadwell*.

The Veteran Scheme was now in high Eſteem, as well for the Benevolence and Humanity in the Deſign of it, as for the actual Service it did the Common Cauſe, by animating and encouraging the Soldiers to fight bravely for their Country, that large Sums were daily enter'd into the Subſcription-Books, which were open'd the 27th of *November*, in the Chamberlain's Office at *Guildhall*. His Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* ſent the Gentlemem who were the Managers, a Bank Note of 600l. the Lord Chief Juſtice *Lee*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Judges ſubſcribed 1200l. the Chamber of *London* 1000l. the Gentlemen of the City of *London* paid in 523l. 19s. the Body of Civilians in *Doctor's Commons* 500l the *Drapers* Company 300l. the *Fiſhmongers* Company 300l. and ſeveral

veral other Companies 100 l. each, beſides Abundance of other Donations both publick and private, that were continually ſent in, and ſubſcrib'd to the ſaid Scheme; ſo that the Managers were enabled to furniſh the Soldiers with all the Neceſſaries they had Occaſion for, to defend them againſt the Hardſhips and Inconveniences of a Winter Campaign, and the Severities of the Northern Climate.

The 10th of *December*, at a general Meeting of the Subſcribers to the Subſcription rais'd for the better Support and Encouragement of the Soldiers during the Winter Seaſon, towards the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, a Committee of the principal Subſcribers was choſen, for the Diſpoſal of the Money ariſing from ſuch Subſcription; the Proceedings being communicated to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* and Marſhal *Wade*, deſiring their Opinions how the Money ſhould be beſt applied, who unanimouſly reſolv'd, that they ſhould contract for 12,000 Pair of Breeches,

12,000

12,000 Sheets, 10,000 Woollen Caps, 10,000 Pair of Woollen Stockings 12,000 Pair of knit Woolen Gloves, 9000 Pair of Woollen Spatterdaſhes, and 1000 Blankets, to be immediately provided and ſent to the Army; and likewiſe reſolved that the Sum of 5000 l. Part of the ſaid Subſcription Money already raiſed, be ſet a-part for the rewarding of ſuch Soldiers as ſhould be maim'd or wounded in the Service; and that the further Sum of 300 l. be applied as Marſhal *Wade* ſhould direct, for the more ſpeedy Recovery of the ſick Soldiers under his Command, in Augmentation of the Allowance granted by the Crown on that Behalf.

At this Time the Stage-Players were not wanting in their Contribution towards the Soldiers; the whole Amount of three Nights acting the *Beggar's Opera*, propos'd by Mrs *Cibber*, who acted *Polly* gratis, making 600 l. was, on the 10th of *December*, paid into the Chamber of *London*, by Mr *Rich*, for the Encouragement of the Soldiers: Every Comedian

Comedian play'd gratis, and Tallow-Chandlers gave the Candles.

At which Time the following

PROLOGUE was ſpoken.

METhinks, I ſee *Britannia*'s Genius here,
Who ſmiles to find her Guardian Son your Care
Whilſt every Heart with Indignation glows,
Warin'd with the Senſe of injur'd *Britain*'s Woes.

If aught be glorious in a Soldier's Name,
To your Affections now, how juſt his Claim!
For you his unremitted Zeal defies,
The changeful Seaſon, and the inclement Skies:
With painful Steps the tedious March endures,
And gives his own Repoſe to purchaſe yours.
Conſcience how much we to their Value owe,
Let us with uſual Warmth united ſhew,
Ingratitude's a Crime we dare not know.

Fluſh'd with Succeſs theſe lawleſs Vagrants come
From *France* their Maxims, and their Gods from *Rome*.
Ruffians who fight not in fair Honour's Cauſe,
For injur'd Rights, or violated Laws;
But like the Savage Race they roam for Prey,
And where they paſs deſtruction marks their Way.

O! thou who doſt o'er human Acts preſide,
If *Britain* is thy Care be WILLIAM's Guide;
The noble Youth, whom ev'ry Eye approves,
Each Tongue applauds and ev'ry Soldier lives;

In

In the dire Conflict may thy Power afford
Strength to his Arm, and Vict'ry to his Sword;
On Freedom's Baſis may he fix the Throne.
And add new Luſtre to his Father's Crown.

Whilſt the Rebels were doing the Buſineſs of the *French* in the North, laſt Preparation were ſtill making on the Coaſt of *France* and *French Flanders*, for invading the Kingdom; and the Informations which the Government receiv'd of their Embarkations, particularly at *Dunkirk*, induc'd his Majeſty to give ſuch Directions as were neceſſary for appointing proper Alarm-Poſts, at which the Troops were to aſſemble, and ſuch Signals as I have already obſerv'd. And at the ſame Time a Proclamation was iſſu'd commanding all Officers, Civil Military, to cauſe the Coaſts to be carfully watch'd; and upon the firſt Approach of the Enemy to direct all Horſes, Oxen, Cattle, and other proviſions to be driven and remov'd twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy ſhould attempt to land; and ſuch Regiments of regular Troops as were at that Time quarter'd as I have ſaid, in and about

about *London*, were order'd down to the Coaſts of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, &c These timely Precautions, join'd to the Zeal and Spirit ſhewn by the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Maritime Counties had ſo good an Effect, together with the Officers of his Majeſty's Navy, who ſerv'd on board the Squadron then in the Channel, that the Deſigns of the *French*, were totally defeated not withſtanding they frequently chang'd their Schemes which ſerv'd only to fatigue their Troops and to diſtreſs their Subjects to the laſt Degree, by ruining the little Trade ſtill left in that Kingdom.

As Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the reſt of the Rebel Chiefs in *Scotland*. were all this Time labouring with great Diligence, as well as much Violence, to draw together a conſiderable Force, in order to join the Pretender on his Return into that Country; the King's loyal Subjects there ſhew'd the greateſt Zeal and Spirit, in exerting their utmoſt Force, in order to oppoſe them.

The

The City of *Glaſgow* particularly diſtinguiſh'd itſelf upon this Occaſion, by levying fifteen Companies of 60 Men each at their own Expence; and having compleated them about the 1ſt of *December*, they march'd from thence under the Command of the Right Hon the Earl of *Hume* for *Sterling*. The City of *Edinburgh* alſo having receiv'd his Majeſty's Licenſe for that Purpoſe, raiſs'd 1000 Men for the King's Service; and the Earl of *Loudon*, with the Forces under his Command, by marching from *Inverneſs*, oblig'd a Body of the Rebels to raiſe the Blockade of *Fort-Auguſtus*, which they had form'd under the Command of the Son of Lord *Lovat*; and at the ſame Time the *Macleods* and *Munros* ſcour'd all the North of the Rebels as far as to within 12 Miles of *Aberdeen*. Such were the Tranſactions in *South* and *North-Britain* to the Cloſe of the Year. But I proceed to give an Acount of the Rebels from their Retreat out of *England* to their beſieging *Sterling* Caſtle.

On the 20th of *December*, after the Rebels had pass'd the *Esk*, they divided into two Bodies; the lesser consisting of about 2000 Men, march'd to *Ecclefechan*, where they staid all Night, and the next Day march'd to *Moffat*; the larger Body of about 4000, proceeded to *Annan*, where they staid all Night, except 500, who continu'd their March towards *Dumfries*: The Report having reach'd thither of the Defeat of the Rebels near *Lancaster*, the Inhabitants of *Dumfries* being mostly very loyal People, were preparing to fall upon the disperss'd Rebels, as they had done at *Kendal* and *Penrith*; but to their Loss, they found that instead of a few Stragglers which they expected on the 21st, the Body of 4000 march'd into *Dumfries* where they lodg'd until *Monday* the 23d, and impos'd a Contribution on the Town of 2000l. Sterling, to be paid directly; although this was remonstrated against as a Thing not only hard, but impracticable, yet it was peremptorily insisted on; but at last, 1100l. was accepted in Ready Money; they took Mr *Riddel*

Riddel and Mr *Crosby*, as Hoſtages for the Payment of the Remainder. The Rebels alſo inſiſted on 1000 Pair of Shoes, paid nothing for their Quarters; and at their marching off, order'd their Baggage to be ſent after them; and if any Perſon durſt preſume to moleſt any of their Stragglers, the Hoſtages ſhould ſuffer for the Fault.

They continu'd their March from *Drumlanerig* to *Glaſgow*, at which City they arriv'd on the 25th, they being but a very indifferent *Chriſtmas Box* to the Inhabitants, and many of them got it on the Side of their Head: In the mean Time, the Northern Rebels were moving towards *Perth*, under Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon* the Maſter of *Lovat*, and ſome other Chiefs; ſo that now it appear'd plainly their Deſign was to collect all their Strength upon the *Forth*, in order to beſiege *Sterling* Caſtle. This Body of the Rebels had ſome Artillery, Ammunition and Money with them which had been landed from on board ſome *Spaniſh* Privateers and brought

from the West-Coast to *Perth*, which they had fortified for a Place of Arms; they fitted out an arm'd Sloop there, as they did the *Hazard*, which they had taken, and a stout Privateer at *Montrose*

The main Body of the Rebels continu'd several Days at *Glasgow*, to the Sorrow of the Inhabitants of that City: It is natural to imagine that the Condition of these People must be remarkably unhappy, as having the Enemy within their Walls, and many Circumstances attending their Situation, capable of filling them with very afflicting Apprehensions; for in the first Place, this City had been always consider'd as the Head-Quarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James* II. and was thereby expos'd to very indifferent Treatment; in the next, it has been always since the Revolution, and more especially since the Union, the best affected Place in *North-Britain* to our Establishment; and lastly even since the breaking out of the late Rebellion, they had not only shewn the

the greateſt Loyalty to the Government, in raiſing a Regiment for its Service but had alſo march'd them to *Edinburgh*, (and thereby left themſelves defenceleſs) for fear that the Rebels ſhould force them to disband it: Such was the ſtate of this Place at this critical Juncture, when the Mock Prince enter'd it at the Head of his Forces and thereby had the Inhabitants at his Mercy. But, no Doubt, they were ſenſible of their Danger, yet they did nothing contrary to their Duty to deliver themſelves: On the contrary they ſhew'd very viſible Signs of ſorrow and Sadneſs; and the Chevalier, though he often appear'd in Publick, was ſcarce attended ſo much as by the Mob. It is not at all ſtrange, that the Behaviour of the Rebels, all things conſider'd, ſhould be worſe at *Glaſgow* than at other Places; but ſo it was; they found themſelves in a very rich City, abounding in whatever they wanted; and therefore they conſider'd it as a Magazine, and began to furniſh themſelves with Broad-Cloth, Tartan, Shoes, Stockings and Bonnets, to the Amount of 10,000 l. Sterling; ſo

that by this Means the Pretender in a Manner new-cloath'd his Army, which prov'd a great Means of keeping them together; otherwise it is to be ſuppos'd, many of them would have deſerted.

On the 3d of *January*, having finiſh'd their Buſineſs at *Glaſgow*, glean'd up what they could, and enliſted about 90 Recruits, then it was judg'd Time to remove, and accordingly they march'd that Day to *Kilſyth*. The Pretender's Son lay at Mr *Cimpbel's*, of *Shawfield*, near *Kilſyth*; order'd his Steward to provide every Thing, and promis'd Payment; but next Morning told him, that the Bill ſhould be allowed to his Maſter at accounting for the Rents of *Kilſyth*, it being a forfeited Eſtate. The next Day they proceeded to *Bannockburn*, and on the 5th having moſt Part of their Forces together, they ſummon'd the Town and Caſtle of *Stirling* to ſurrender; but General *Elakeney* anſwer'd, That he would defend the Place to the laſt Extremity; for as he had liv'd, he was determin'd to die a Man of Honour.

Thus

Thus I have given you a Journal of the Rebels Proceedings, from their leaving *North-Britain* to *Derby*, and back again; only it is to be obſerv'd in general, that the *Roman Catholicks* and *Jacobites* were very officious in throwing themſelves in their Way in the Towns and Villages as they march'd through, making low Bows; but the Rebels quite out-did them in Complaiſance, for they ſtoop'd even to their Feet, and ſtripp'd them of their Shoes, ſo that they left many of their Friends and others Bare-foot; and if Complaint was made to their Officers, their Anſwer was, *If the Men want Shoon*, i. e. *Shoes, they muſt have them.* The Town of *Stirling* is of no great Strength; for after ſome Time ſpent in Treaty, it ſurrender'd, and the Rebels enter'd it on the 8th; when having again ſummon'd the Caſtle to as little Purpoſe as before, they took a final Reſolution of beſieging it in Form, with what Artillery they had; and accordingly put it in Execution.

His

His Majesty having thought fit to appoint Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, Commander in Chief of his Forces in *North-Britain* and Major-General *Husk* to command under him, the Troops that form'd the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, march'd from *Newcastle* with great Expedition, and whatever was requisite for their Use, or could contribute to facilitate their Motions, was so readily supplied them on their Route, that by the 10th it was judg'd expedient to dispose Things for advancing towards the Relief of *Stirling* Castle. In the mean Time, the Rebels were very busy in preparing to carry on the Siege

Lord *George Murray*, and Lord *John Drummond*, had been at *Alloway*, concerting how to bring over the Cannon, brought from *Perth* in Floats, and afterwards survey'd the Passage at *Cambes*, to see if it could be done more conveniently there; they also went to *Dumblain*, leaving 100 Men at *Alloway*.

Before

Before the Rebels enter'd the Town of *Sterling*, the Militia Officers, with all their Arms, went into the Caſtle; their Men by ſmall Parties making their Eſcape. Major-General *Blackney* was well provided with Men and Proviſions, reſolving to hold out the Garriſon. The Rebels having got all the Cannon over the *Forth*, broke Ground on the 12th, between the Church of *Sterling* and a large Houſe call'd *Mar's* Work, and was for erecting a Battery there againſt the Caſtle: For this Purpoſe five large Pieces of Cannon were lying ready in the Market-Place, and three ſmall ones were coming from *Airth*; they alſo ſent ſeveral Expreſſes to their Troops in *Perthſhire*, to haſten their March towards *Sterling*, where they ſhot up their Ports, and planted Guards at all the Out lets of the Town, to prevent the People from coming in for, or going out with Intelligence to the King's Troops. The main Body of the Rebels being about *Falkirk*, had Orders to march upon the 13th towards *Linlithgow*, with all the Waggons and Carts they could get together

gether, for carrying off all the Provisions they could meet with.

On the 13th, Major-General *Huske*, march'd with eight Regiments from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*: On his Arrival there, the Rebels, on the 14th march'd towards *Sterling* to their main Body, who had got most of their Friends to the South-Side of the *Forth* and were endeavouring to spirit up their Men to Action; the same Day they got together two Pieces of Cannon of sixteen Pounders, two of eight, and three of three Pounders and expected four more by Warter, for their Battery in the Town: They had also great Number of Fascines, but had not been able to plant their Cannon; General *Blackney* having fired several Times upon them from the Castle, and demolished their Works. Major General *Huske*, with the Forces under him, and the Remains of *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons. on the 16th, took Possession of *Falkirk*, and were joined there by 1000 *Argyleshire* Men under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Campbell*,

Cimpbel, and were followed ſoon after by General *Hawley* with the reſt of the Army and the Artillery; early in the Morning of the 17th, *Cobham's* Dragoons came up, when it was reſolv'd to march the next Morning to attack the Rebels, who, by all Accounts, lay in the Encloſures near *Torwood*; but, by the Reports of ſeveral People who were ſent out to reconnoitre, they were obſerv'd to be in Motion early in the Morning; as they had alſo been on the 16th; ſome reported that they had been entrenching themſelves in *Torwood*, others that they ſeemed inclinable to raiſe the Siege of *Sterling* Caſtle; but many affirm'd that they meant to advance and meet the King's Troops, who lay encamped on a Spot of low Ground, a Quarter of a Mile South-Weſt of *Falkirk*. The Rebel Army had been encamped on *Plene-Moor*, to the Weſtward of *Torwood*, about three Miles Diſtance from one another: They decamp'd in the Morning, marching Eaſtward; becauſe the Wind was South-Weſt, they then march'd to the South of *Torwood*, in

in order to get the Windward. At this Diſtance it is eaſy to ſay, Care ſhould have been taken to obtain better Intelligence, but let us remember, that if an Enemy be irreſolute (as was the Caſe) no certain Intelligence can be obtain'd.

Lieutenant General *Hawley*, having conſider'd the Situation of Affairs, and the ſeveral Accounts receiv'd, reſolv'd to defer attacking the Rebels until the next Day as well in regard to the Foulneſs of the Weather, as becauſe he was deſirous of obtaining ſuch Intelligence as might enable him to make the moſt advantageous Diſpoſitions for acting againſt them with his Cavalry and Artillery; Some Dragoons that had been ſent to re-connoitre, returned about Noon, with Intelligence that the Rebels were actually in Motion, in order to attack the King's Forces; and by One in the Afternoon, they were ſeen about three Miles diſtance marching in two Columns towards ſome riſing Ground to the Southward, upon a Moor near *Falkirk*; upon which our Troops got under Arms, and form'd immediately

immediately in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March towards the ſame Ground, to which it was apprehended the Rebels were going, being a large Mile to the Left of the Camp; no ſooner were the Troops got thither, but they ſaw the Rebels moving up, their Right extending Southward; but as there was a Moroſs, or Boggy-Ground, upon our Left, we could not ſtretch ſo far as they; ſo that their Left was almoſt oppoſite to our Center. Our Foot were form'd in two Lines, Part upon Plain Ground, and the reſt declining; our Dragoons were on the Left Flank with General *Hawley*; Major General *Huske* commanded on the Right: In this Diſpoſition we mov'd forwards, having the Moraſs on our Left; the Dragoons were order'd to advance about fifty Paces before the Front-Line and attack the Rebels Sword in Hand, to give the Left Time to form, and the Lines to advance. The Dragoons attack'd moſt gallantly, and receiv'd the Rebels Fire, which diſordered ſome of the Horſes, and they broke upon our Foot, who

fired too ſoon, by which ſome of the Dragoons were unſaddled; in this Confuſion, ſome of the Dragoons rode quite off from the Field of Battle, and did not ſtop till they got near *Linlithgow*, on which it was reported that they were all that had eſcap'd from the Battle: This Diſorder occaſioned our two Lines of Foot to give Way, and many of them went off: But this Misfortune, which at firſt looked like a loſt Battle, was quickly recover'd; the Dragoons bravely returned to the Charge, and retrived their Honour; *Barrel*'s and *Ligonier*'s were immediately rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondley*, and being afterwards attack'd by a Body of Rebels twenty deep fairly drove them back, and put them to Flight. At this Time a Body of Foot, by the Care of Major-General *Hurke*, form'd in the Rear of theſe two Regiments, which the Rebels ſeeing, durſt not advance; and about the ſame Time Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallied the Remains of the ſcatter'd Battalions into their ſeveral Corps, in which he was aſſiſted by the Officers; it was then four o'Clock

o'Clock in the Afternoon when it rain'd heavily and blew hard, which, in a great Meaſure, was the Cauſe of our Misfortunes, for our Men could not ſee before them, and conſequently the Rebels had the Advantage of us greatly in that Particular; Beſides, as it rain'd hard before, many of the Firelocks were ſo wet, that it is believ'd not above one in five, that were attempted to be fired, went off. Our Loſs was but ſmall, not exceeding 300 Men; and it was believ'd the Rebels loſt three Times that Number. It was a Misfortune we could not get up our Artillery to us; for it rain'd ſo heavily in the Night, and having a ſteep Hill to aſcend, and the Horſes but bad, they could not get forward; and when we return'd to our Camp, we found the Captain of the Train had abandon'd it, and the Drivers run off with their Horſes; which oblig'd us to leave ſome Pieces of Cannon behind; The Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment drew down one to the Camp, and Horſes were got at *Falkirk* to bring off three others. The Evening being

exceſſive rainy, it was thought proper to march the Troops to *Linlithgow* that Night, and put them under Cover; otherwiſe we ſhould have continu'd in our Camp, being Maſters of the Field of Battle; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was order'd to take Poſt there. When we came to ſtrike the Tents, and finding that many of the Drivers had run off with their Horſes; immediately the General gave Orders that what Tents were leſt ſhould be burnt, which was accordingly done.

During the Time the Army was on its March to meet the Rebels, a Body of them, with ſome Colours, paſs'd the River *Carran*, towards the Right of the Camp, with a Deſign, I ſuppoſe, to attack it; but the *Argyleſhire* Men being poſted in the Front, kept them in Awe, and effectually fruſtrated their Intention. The *Glaſgow* Regiment was poſted at ſome Farm-Houſes, where it was thought they might be of Uſe, when the Action began, and remain'd form'd there, notwithſtanding they ſaw that the

the Dragoons, and Part of the Foot, had given Way.

I have alſo to add, that it had been reſolv'd that the Army ſhould remain at *Linlithgow*, whither it had retired on the 17th at Night; but upon Examination, it was found that the Troops had no Powder that would take Fire, from the exceſſive Rains for Twenty-four Hours before; and therefore a Reſolution was taken upon the 19th in the Morning to march to *Edinburgh* and the Places adjacent, where the Whole Army arriv'd that Afternoon, about Four o'Clock.

The abandoning the Camp, and the Loſs of the Cannon look'd ſo like a Defeat, that it gave the *Jacobites* a Handle to vaunt, as if the Rebels had got the Victory; whereas they were indeed beat by a handful of Men, and fled ſhamefully. The Facts are true, that the Camp was abandon'd and the Cannon loſt; but the firſt was done with Judgment, and preſerv'd the Men, who muſt have

lain upon their Arms all Night, which was ſo rainy and ſtormy that they were wet to the Skin had no Proviſions, and would have been ſubject to continual Alarms all Night; and the laſt was occaſioned by the Misbehaviour of the Officer who had the Charge of the Train who finding that he was to be tried by a Court-Martial, cut an Artery in his Arm endeavouring to make his Eſcape, by going out of the World in that Way, but was prevented and diſgraced. On the Whole the Rebels have neither gain'd Honour nor Advantage by an Action, in which two Regiments, with Part of the Old Buffs, and ſome others rallied by Major-General *Huske*, in all making not above four Regiments, the Dragoons excepted, fairly drove them out of that Field, which they enter'd with ſo promiſing a Proſpect; and in the End, General *Hawley* drew off his Men, and retreated in good Order to his Camp at *Falkirk*: The Enemy did not venture to purſue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant Behaviour of two Squadrons of *Cobham*'s Dragoons,

goons, and four Battalions of the Right Wing, which compos'd the Rear-Guard, under the Command of Major-General *Huske*.

Sir *Robert Monroe* was wounded and afterwards taken Priſoner, together with his Brother; the latter was a Surgeon and an eminent Man in his Profeſſion, who attended Sir *Robert* to the Field, merely out of brotherly Affection; both of which, at the ſame Time the Rebels murdered in cold Blood. There was no Account of the kill'd and Wounded publiſh'd by Authority: The Officers in general diſtinguiſh'd themſelves extremely, and ſome very particularly, ſuch as Brigadier-General *Commdley* who was dangerouſly wounded, and contracted a Palſy from the Cold he caught in the Field; Major-General *Huske*, by his great Vigilance and Preſence of Mind ſhewn on this Occaſion, acquir'd the higheſt Reputation; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was allowed to have done all that could be expected from the moſt knowing and experienc'd Officer: It is but alſo juſt

to

to the Memory of Colonel *Ligonier*, to mention, that although he was in a bad State of Health for which he was blooded and blister'd, yet he could not be restrain'd from leading his Men to the Field of Battle, where he got wet to the Skin, by which he contracted a violent Cold and Quinsey, and died thereof Nay, even in the Battalions where the Men did not behave well as might be expected, there Officers shew'd themselves to the greatest Advantage, and gave glorious Example of Intrepidity, though they were but ill copied; this made the Loss fall heavier amongst them in Proportion, than has been on the like Occasions. I have endeavour'd to calculate the following List of Officers kill'd, &c. from the best Accounts I could then procure.

A LIST

A LIST *of the* OFFICERS *kill'd, wounded, and taken Priſoners at the Battle of* Falkirk, Jan. 17, 1745-6.

DRAGOONS.

Lieut Col Whitney

Cornets Monk and Crow.

Hamilton's.

Cornet Smith.

Monroe's.

Colonel Sir Robert Monroe,

Lieut. Col. Briggar.

Capt. Hall, Fitzgerald, Witherall, and Mr Monroe, Sir Robert's Brother.

Wolfe's.

Captains. Dallons,

FOOT.

Blakency's.

Captains Tod, Kellet, Dalrymple and Edmondſon.

Lieut. Fairfield. Garing, Hamilton, Launders, and Hele.

Lieut. Kirkſon.

Howara's.

Captains. Oſrepo, and Hacket.

Cholmondley's.

Lieut. Col. Powell.

Major *Lockhart* was made Priſoner, and carried away to the Highlands, but join'd the King's Army at *Aberdeen*, after having

having made his Eſcape, and brought off Priſoner the Rebel Officer that guarded him

William Thornton, Eſq; of *Cattal*, in *Yorkſhire*, maintain'd a Company at his own Expence, march'd them to the Battle of *Falkirk*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf very gallantly. --- I wiſh I could ſay that he met with that Reſpect due to his great Merit. An Officer in the Eſtabliſhment, behaving well, is Praiſeworthy, yet he only does his Duty: But a Volunteer that ventures his Life and Fortune in Defence of the Government, in Times of the moſt imminent Danger and Difficulty, deſerves to be had in the higheſt Eſteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Conſtitution --- Captain *Thornton* and his Men ſuffer'd much at the Battle of *Falkirk*, many of them being taken Priſoners; of twenty that were in Jeopardy, he only, with Difficulty, eſcaped. As this Action proved fatal to ſo many Officers, it proved as fortune to a great many others; for the Rebels having ſent moſt of the Officers

ficers that were taken Priſoners at *Preſton Pans* to *Glames*, *Coupar*, and *Leſlie*, when they were drawing together their Forces about *Stirling*, the loyal Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and other Places, formed a Deſign of reſcuing them, and conducted them back to *Edinburgh*, which they executed with great Spirit and Diligence; and they accordingly arrived at that City on the 19th, the very Day after the Army returned thither from *Linlithgow* —— The releaſing of thoſe Officers at this Juncture, was a very ſeaſonable Service, as it viſibly preſerved them from being hurried by the Rebels in the North, as would undoubtedly have been the Caſe, if they had remained Priſoners but a few Days longer: It was likewiſe a full Proof of the ſteady Loyalty and ſincere Attachment to the Government, of thoſe who undertook to reſcue them, ſince they did it at a Time when the Rebels were fluſh'd with their late Advantage; but the Conſequence of the thing will beſt appear, by giving the Reader an Account of the Perſons that were thus ſet at Liberty.

A LIST

A LIST *of the* OFFICERS *retaken from the Rebels, by the Militia of the Shire of* Angus.

Legonier's Dragoons
Quarter-Maſters
Wiſt, and Young

Cockran's Marines.
Lt Col. Whiteford

Guiſe's Foot.
Lieutenant Patton
Enſign Wakeman.

Lee's Foot.
Captain-Lieutenant
Kennedy
Enſign Archer.

Murray's Foot.
Major Talbot.
Capt. Leiſle.
Lieutenants Wall
and Rae.
Enſigns.
Sutherland, Luſh,
and Bruce.

Laſcelle's Foot.
Major Severn.
Captains. Collier,
Barlow, Anderſon, Corbet, and
Forreſter.
Lieut-Swiney.
Enſigns.
Cox, and Goulton.

Loudon's Foot.
Capt Monroe
Capt. Lt. M'Nab,
Lieut. Read.
Enſigns.
Grant, M'Lagan,
M'Ray, and
Campbell.

When

When the News of the Battle reached *London*, it made it neceſſary to provide for the immediate Extinction of ſo dangerous a Flame, by ſending down a ſufficient Number of Forces, not only to render the Army in *Scotland* more formidable than before, but to encreaſe its ſtrength to ſuch a Degree, as to free the Nation from any Apprehenſions of its Conſequences, in Caſe the Enemy ſhould grow more numerous, or the *French* or *Spaniards* perſiſt in their deſign of attempting an Invaſion for their Support, in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions. It was with this View that a Reſolution was taken for embarking the *Heſſian* Troops in *Britiſh* Pay, then in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, for *Scotland*; it was alſo thought convenient, in order to reſtore the Spirit of the Soldiers, to extinguiſh all Animoſities and encourage the well-affected in *North-Britain*, that his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* ſhould immediately go down thither: It is true, the embarking the *Heſſians* at that Time, was in ſome Reſpect inconvenient, as the

French had juſt diſcovered their Deſign of attacking *Bruſſels*; but the Neceſſity of reſtoring our internal Tranquility being confeſs'd, both at Home and Abroad of ſuch high Importance to the Common Cauſe, as well of ſo ſingular an Import to ourſelves, that it was generally approved; as the Conſequences which have attended it ſhews, that it was undertaken upon right Motives. I might here mention ſome other Methods that were taken to fruſtrate the Deſigns of our Enemies, which I will omit for the preſent, in order to return to the Progreſs of the Rebels, in the Seige of *Stirling*-Caſtle.

Soon after the Battle, the *Tretender's* Son returned with his Forces to *Stirling*, when the Rebels ſummoned the Caſtle to ſurrender in the Morning, and again in the Afternoon; but General *Blackney* anſwered, as before. *That as he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, the Rebels ſhould find he would die ſo*; which they found too true in the End.

January

January the 24th, the Siege proceeded but very ſlowly; the Caſtle had fired ſo often on the Men at work upon the Batteries, and with ſo much Exactneſs, that the Rebels could not get any of their own People to go near them; for which Reaſon the *Iriſh* Brigade, and *Drummond*'s Regiment from *France*, were order'd to do that Service.

On the 27th, the Rebels had got two Batteries erected, the one on the *Garran*-Hill, within forty Yards of the Caſtle, and the other on *Lady's*-Hill. On the 28th they got Cannon mounted on them, conſiſting of two Pieces of 18 Pounders, two of 16, and three of 12 Pounders; and whilſt this was doing, they continued to fire upon the Caſtle with Small-Arms, which did little or no Miſchief, tho' at the ſame Time it expoſed their Men extremely, and they ſuffered by the Fire of the Caſtle very ſeverely, which put them more and more out of Humour with the Siege; and what contributed to encreaſe their Uneaſineſs, was the great Want of

Provisions, which oblig'd them to send out Parties in order to carry off what Meal they could find on all Sides of the Country. The greatest Part of their Army return'd into the Neighbourhood of *Falkirk*. They sent away the Prisoners to *Down*-Castle on the 24th, except the Officers; and the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they gave the Name of Prince *Charles* Snow, was refitted and sent to *France*, with the News of their Success; which they magnified in very high Terms, as appeared by the Accounts of it printed at *Paris*. The Rebels begun to be heartly tired of the Siege, they not liking to fight against Stone-Walls; although it must be owned they spared no Labour in getting thither their Cannon, though harrassed all the Time by the *Vulture* Sloop, and by small Craft fill'd with Soldiers, which did them considerable Damage; neither when it was brought thither and planted could they do much, their Batteries being injudiciously erected; and the Highlandmen shew'd a great Aversion for that kind of Service, for which they are naturally unfit; and at the

the ſame Time the Garriſon did them a great deal of Miſchief, tho' they were able to do little or none to the Garriſon. As it had been cuſtomary for the Rebels to deny their Mortality, General *Blakeney* would not permit them to bury their Dead, in order to convince them, that their Men were not invulnerable; after that about Sixty of the Rebels were killed in one Day, and expoſed to View; then they were indeed convinced of their Frailty. A Drum had been ſent about the Town, with Notice, that every Perſon that was taken near the Caſtle ſhould be Shot; and that if any of the Town's People entertained any Wives or Children of the Soldiers who were in the Caſtle ſhould be puniſhed with Military Execution.

Nothwithſtanding all the Pains the Rebels had taken in order to carry on the Siege, yet it could ſcarce be ſaid to advance all the Time they lay before it; but whether they might or not have ſucceeded, 'tis requiſite to mention what Advantages they propos'd to themſelves

by becoming Masters of this Place and those (though they were many) might be reduced to these Three: First, it would have given them Reputation at Home and Abroad, as *Stirling* Castle is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is: Secondly, if they could have got this Place, and Fortified *Perth*, they might have secured the Country behind them for the Winter: Thirdly, it would have afforded them Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts, on both Sides of the Island; which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from Abroad: But the Gallant General *Blakeney*, who still defended the Castle with so much Constancy and Courage, made the *Scots* Rebels quite sick of the Siege, so that their Commanders found it necessary to entrust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who by this Means were excessively weakened and fatigued, having seven *French* Officers kill'd in one Day, which put them into great Confusion; where I shall leave them for the present, and re-assume the Progress of our Army.

After

After the neceſſary Preparations were made for taking the Field again, and marching a ſecond Time to the Relief of General *Blakeney*, the Troops ſeemed to be exceedingly mortified at the late Miſcarriage, and ſhew'd an earneſt Deſire to repair it, by marching again to attack the Rebels; for which the neceſſary Preparations were made, and the Army, in a few Days was in every Reſpect in a better Condition, and better provided than before

On the 30th in the Morning, to the great Surprize and Joy of the Army, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey amazingly expeditious, conſidering the Rigour of the Seaſon. ——— He was receiv'd with all the Teſtimonies of Loyalty and Affection that could poſſibly be expreſs'd, the Army looking upon his Preſence as a ſure Omen of Victory, and all Ranks and Degrees of People being delighted at beholding a Prince, with whoſe Reputation they were ſo well acquainted, and by whom they

they had juſt Reaſon to expect being reſtor'd to the peaceable Poſſeſſion of thoſe Bleſſings, which under the mild Government of the King his Father, they had, until the breaking out of this Rebellion, conſtantly enjoy'd. The Sight of the Duke baniſh'd all Remembrances of the late untoward Accident, and the Troops ſhew'd uncommon Ardour to be led (bad as the Weather was) into the Field again.

His Royal Highneſs review'd the Forces next Day, and march'd them in two Columns, conſiſting of fourteen Battallions; the *Argyleſhire* Men, together with *Cobham's* Dragoons, leading the Van. He quarter'd that Night at *Linlithgow* with eight Battalions; Brigadier *Mordaunt* was at *Borrowſtounneſs*, the Dragoons lay in adjacent Villages; and Colonel *Campbell* with his brave loyal Highland Men, took Poſt in the Front of the Army, towards the *Avon*. There was at this Time a conſiderable Body of the Rebels at *Falkirk*, who immediately retired towards *Torwood*, where it was given

given out that they were to be join'd by the reſt of their Forces from *Stirling*; though it was afterwards known there never was any ſuch Intention.

The next Morning his Royal Highneſs made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for continuing their March; at which Time, all the Officers and Soldiers, ſhewed the greateſt Alacrity imaginable. The March was not long begun before advice was brought, that the Rebels inſtead of preparing for an Engagement, were actually repaſſing the *Forth* with all the Diligence imaginable; and what gave Credit to this, was their advanc'd Guards retiring every where with the utmoſt Precipitation. This News was ſoon after put out of Diſpute, by the Noiſe they heard of two great Reports, like the blowing up of Magazines; upon which Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd with the Dragoons and the *Argyleſhire* Men to harraſs the Rebels in their Retreat. The Brigadier with the Troops under his Command arriv'd at *Stirling* late that Evening where they found the Rebels had

had abandon'd their Camp, with all their Artillery, and had blown up their Magazine of about 6000 weight of Powder, which they kept in the Church of St. *Ninian*, a ſmall Village juſt at the Entrance of *Stirling*; they ſet Fire to it by diſcharging a Musket into the Powder; there were three Men order'd to perform this Operation, but the firſt Firing ſerv'd; the Church gave a terrible Shock, and deſtroy'd ſeveral of the Rebels who were the Actors of this Tragedy, and nine of the Townſmen were alſo buried in the Ruins, which ſome of our Soldiers dug out for their Cloaths, whilſt we halted at *Stirling*: Its great Shock alſo broke all the Windows in the Village, ſo that they appear'd like to ſo many Bawdy-Houſes: The Rebels likewiſe left behind them all the wounded Men they had made Priſoners in the laſt Action, and about twenty of their own ſick Men; but it was ſo late when the King's Forces arriv'd, that it was judg'd needleſs to continue the Purſuit that Night.

The

The Rebel Army paſſed the *Forth*, at a Ford about four Miles above the Town; for one Arch of the Bridge was blown up by General *Blackeney*'s Order, ſo that they could not paſs over it.

February the 2d about One in the Afternoon his Royal Highneſs enter'd *Stirling*, * and receiv'd the Compliments

---

* *Stirling* is much like *Edinburgh*, all up Hill, the Caſtle making the Top of the Town: The great Street in this Town looks very grand, the Houſes are exceeding high, and there are ſeveral antique Buildings in the higheſt Part of the Town, but greatly decay'd by being neglected. The Caſtle is not ſo very difficult of Acceſs as that of *Edinburgh*, but is eſteemed equally as ſtrong, being built on a very high Rock. The Works are capable of mounting more Cannon; there is alſo a Battery that commands the Bridge, which is of great Importance, and ſeems to be the main End for which it was built: The Walls, with Variety of Caſemats, and all the Outworks, are very firm, and in good Condition: The River *Forth* runs very near the Caſtle having a great many winding Turns, which begins a little below the Bridge at *Sterling*, and continues to *Alloway*, tha

ments of General *Blakeney*, and the Officers of his Garriſon, on that memorable Occaſion: At the ſame Time his Royal Highneſs was pleas'd to teſtify his entire Satisfaction with Reſpect to the gallant Defence the General had made, by which a Place of ſo much Importance had been preſerv'd, and the Deſigns of the Enemy defeated.

One of the great Arches of *Stirling*-Bridge being blown up, the King's Forces were oblig'd to ſtay until it was built up with Boards which was done in two Days; during which Time, there was a great Number of the Rebels brought in to the Duke, who had hid themſelves in Holes and Corners, and had not timely Notice of their Brethren leaving their Quarters. A whole Company of the *Iriſh* Brigades, that had deſerted from

---

the Seat of the Earl of *Mar*, which is 24 Miles o by Water, and only 4 by Land: The Bridge o *Stirling* is a very noble Structure, conſiſtin of four very large Arches with Watch Towers o each Side.

th

the Rebels, came and deliver'd themſelves up to his Royal Highneſs. From hence the Mock Prince fled with ſo much Precipitation, that he neglected to carry off his Female Colonel *Cameron* who was taken, and ſome Time after ſent to *Edinburgh* Caſtle. In the mean Time, the Rebels were making what Diſpatch they could to get out of the Way, whilſt the Bridge was repairing, Part of them taking the Road by *Tay-Bridge*, towards the Hills, the reſt, conſiſting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, the Remains of the *French*, thoſe commanded by Lord *Ogilvie*, and the few Horſe they had, got into *Perth* that very Night that Brigadier *Mordaunt* arriv'd at *Stirling*; and though they had taken a great deal of Pains in throwing up ſeveral Works for the Security of that Place, yet they began to abandon it, and continu'd their March Northwards the next Morning. Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Iriſh* that came from *France*, made the beſt of their Way towards *Montroſe*; and on the 3d of *February* the Town of *Perth* was totally

evacuated: They left behind them thirteen Pieces of Iron Cannon, of eight and twelve Pounders nailed up, and threw a great Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with fourteen Swivel Guns that had been taken out of the *Hazard* Sloop, and let at Liberty the Sailors that had been confined there from the Time that the Veſſel was taken; but they thought fit to carry off Captain *Hill* who commanded her and ſome other Priſoners of the better Sort.

Notwithſtanding their Retreat was made in ſo much Haſte, yet it was but juſt in Time: For on the 4th the Bridge of *Stirling* was repair'd, ſo that the Army paſſed over it at Six in the Morning, and the advanc'd Guard, conſiſting of the *Argyleſhire* Men and the Dragoons, march'd that Day to *Crief*; but the Foot were cantoon'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening; and the next Day the advanc'd Guard took Poſſeſſion of *Perth*

It

It is here to be obſerv'd (and I believe no Hiſtory can ſhew a more illuſtrious Inſtance of the Effects of a General's Reputation than this I have given you) that, in the Space of one ſingle Week his Royal Highneſs quitted the Court of the King his Father, put himſelf at the Head of his Troops in *Scotland*, and ſaw the Enemy flying with Precipitation before him; ſo that it may be ſaid, that his Progreſs was like Light'ning the Rebels fled at the Flaſh Fearing the Thunder that was to follow.

On the 6th, the main Body of our Army got to *Perth**.

* This Town lies in a Hollow, and has formerly been called St. *John's* Town, in Honour of an antient Church dedicated to St. *John*: The *Engliſh* in Time of War between the *Bruces* and *Baliols*, fortified it with large Bulwarks, the greateſt Part of which the *Scots* demoliſhed. It is, notwithſtanding, a pretty little City, pleaſantly ſituated between the *Inches*, which are two Greens ſo called, where they bleach their Linnen Cloth, of

On the 7th, the fourteen Swivel Guns that had been thrown into the River by the Rebels were taken up; and on the 8th, two Detachments of 500 Foot each were order'd forwards, one to *Dunkeld*,

---

of which they have a great Manufacture here; it has three long Streets, and many croſs ones, with an old Wall in Ruins ſurrounding every Side, excepting that which is bordered by the famous River *Tay*, the largeſt in *Scotland*, by which it is ſupply'd every Tide with Commodities from the Sea in their light Veſſels, which come up to a handſome Key joining the Town. *Perth* is the ſecond Town in *Scotland* for Dignity: near this formerly ſtood the old Town of *Perth*, which being overflowed by an Inundation of the *Tay*, occaſioned the Building of this where it now ſtands; this River produceth a great Quantity of Salmon for Exportation: About a Mile from this Town ſtands the famous Palace of *Scone*, exending 200 Feet in Front, and has been honoured with the Coronation of all the Kings of *Scotland* ever ſince *Kenneth*; who having hard by, made a general Slaughter of the *Picts*, placed a Stone here, incloſed in a wooden Chair for the Inauguration of the Kings of *Scotland*; it was brought out of *Ireland* into *Argyleſhire*, and from thence hither, but was carried away by the victorious King *Edward* the Firſt, and placed in *Weſtminſter* Abbey, where it now is.

under

under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*, with the Addition of 150 *Argyle-ſhire* Men; the other under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Leighton*, to Caſtle *Menzie*, a Mile on the other Side of *Tay* Bridge; the reſt of the Army remain'd at *Perth* four Days longer in order to reſt the Regiments of Foot: As the Rebels had fled quite off, and diſpers'd into ſmall Parties, it was to no Purpoſe to fatigue our Men with forced Marches. After ſome little Reſt at *Perth* his Royal Righneſs continu'd his March to *Aberdeen*, where the Van of the Army arriv'd on *Wedneſday Feb.* the 25th.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke having Intelligence of a Magazine of the Rebels, at an old Caſtle call'd *Cargaaf*, ſituated in a Deſart among the Mountains, near the Head of the River *Dun*, about fifty Miles from *Aberdeen*, detach'd 300 Foot under the Command of Major *Morris* of *Legonier's* late Regiment, now *Conway's*, and 100 Dragoons under the Command of Captain *Stuart*, of Lord

Mark Kerr's, the whole commanded by Lord *Aucram*, with Orders to take and destory it; which they effectually did, bringing away 367 Firelocks, 370 Bayonets, and 12,000 Musquet Balls. which they scatter'd about the Country amongst the Snow and Hether. and sterv'd and threw into the River *Don* 64 single Barrels of fine *Spanish* Powder and then return'd to *Aberdeen* on *Thursday March* the 5th, with the Loss only of one Horse, and a Man left behind at *Tarland*, ill of the Small-Pox, who afterwards died; though they had endur'd great Fatigue from the Badness of the Roads thro' the Mountains cov r'd with Snow, and the Severity of the Weather, neither Officer nor Soldier had taken his Cloaths off for seven Days from their setting out until their Return to *Aberdeen*.

As I had fallen sick with a Cold I had got whilst our Army lay before *Carlisle*, and the excessive Fatigue I had endured before and after, made me not in a Condition to go this March with the Army; I follow'd them as soon as

I

I grew better, by the Way of *Edinburgh* crossing by Water from *Leith* to *Kinghorn*. When I was at *Edinburgh* * the

* *Edinburgh*, although built on a Hill, may be said to lie in a Valley, by reason of two Hills which cover it, so that it is not seen until you just enter the City; one is called *Salisbury Craigs*, i. e. *Rocks*; the other makes the Foundation of the Castle. By the *Highlanders*, this Town has been call'd *Dun Faden*, i. e. *Faden Town*: and by the *Romans*, *Castra Alata*, i e. the *Winged Camp*; for, as *Cambden* observes, *Adian*, in the *British* Tongue, signifies a Wing, and so *Edinburgh* (from a Word compounded of the *British* and *Saxon* Tongue) is nothing else but the *Winged Borough*. This City, in regard of its high Situation, the Goodness of the Air, and Fertility of the Soil, so many Seats of the Nobility lying round it, its being watered with excellent Springs, and reaching from East to West a Mile in Length, and half a Mile in Breadth, is, upon this Account justly esteemed the Metropolis of *Scotland*; it is strongly walled, and adorned with publick & private Buildings, well Peopled and frequented, for the Advantage of the Sea, which the Neighbouring Port of *Leith* affords; and as it was formerly honour'd with the King's Residence, so it is now the sacred Repository of the Records and the chief Tribunal of Justice. At the Extremity of the East End of the City stands the Palace of *Holy-*

the 6000 *Huſſars*, in *Britiſh* Pay, were arriv'd there; they made a fine Appearance

---

Ho'yrood-Houſe; leaving of which, a little to the Left, you came through a populous Suburb, to the Entrance called the Water-Port; from hence turning Weſt, the Street goes on in a ſtreight Line through the whole City to the Caſtle, which is above a Mile in Length, and ſaid by the *Scots*, to be the largeſt, longeſt and fineſt Street for Building and Number of Inhabitants in *Europe*: From the Palace-Door, which ſtands on the Level with the loweſt of the plain Country, this Street begins to aſcend very gradually, being no where ſteep; but this Aſcent being continued for ſo long a Way, it is eaſy to underſtand that the fartheſt Part muſt neceſſary be very high; for the Caſtle which ſtands, as it were, at the Extremity Weſt, as the Palace does Eaſt, makes on all Sides (that only excepted which joins it to City) a frightful and inacceſſible Precipice. Beſides the continual Aſcent of this great Street, you are to ſuppoſe it running along the Top of a Ridge, ſo narrow, that the Street and the Row of Houſes on each Side takes up the whole Breadth; ſo that whether you turn to the Right or Left you go down Hill immediately, which is ſo ſteep that it is very troubleſome to thoſe who have bad Lungs, to walk in thoſe ſide Lanes which they call Wynds. By this Deſcription you will perceive, the City ſtands upon a narrow Ridge of a long aſcending Moun-

ance, and obſerv'd a good Diſcipline, and the Men in general were very handſome;

Mountain: The Caſtle is ſituated on ſo high a Rock, and ſtrongly fortified with a great Number of Towers, that it is looked upon as impregnable; this the *Britains* call'd *Mynid Agned*; the *Scots* the *Maiden* Caſtle, and the *Virgin* Caſtle, becauſe the Maiden Princeſſes of the Blood-Royal of the *Picts* were kept here in old Time. The Aſcent upon which the City ſtands, has on the North Side a Pool, called the North *Loch*, and was formerly guarded by another on the South, called the South *Loch*, but this was drained many Years ago, upon the Banks of it are built two ſeveral Tracts of Houſes; the Magiſtrates have alſo, with great Expence, brought one of the beſt Springs in *Scotland* into the City, which they did by Leaden Pipes, from a Hill at about three Miles Diſtance, and to make it more convenient, they have erected ſeveral ſtately Conduits in the Middle of the High-Street, to ſerve the Town with Water. From the Palace-Gate Weſtward, this Street is call'd *Canon-Gate*, as belonging to the Canons of the *Abbey*, which is a kind of Suburb by itſelf; in this Street are ſeveral very magnificent Houſes of the Nobility, built for their Reſidence when the Court was here, beſides theſe, there are a great Number of Bawdy-Houſes in this Street, which amongſt the Frequenters of them, it is a common Queſtion to ask, if they have got a Pair

of

handſome; but their Women are quite the Reverſe; which made me think they were

---

of *Cannon-Gate* Breeches, meaning the Veneral Diſeaſe, which rages here as well as in other Places of Note, and had made its Appearance about 200 Years ago; ſo early did they fall into the *French* Faſhion: At the Upper or Weſt-end of this Street where it joins to the City, is a Gate, which like *Ludgate*, parts the City from the Suburb, but does not diſcontinue the Street, which rather widens, and is much more ſpacious when you are through the Gate than before; this is the famous *Fetherbow-Port*, whoſe Doors were like to have been taken away by the Parliament, when the Affair of Captain *Porteus* was under their Conſideration. Juſt at this Gate, on the outſide, are two Streets, one of which are called St. *Mary*'s Wynd, and the other *Leith* Wynd; the firſt leads out of the City, South, into the great Road of *England*, by the Way of *Kelſo*; and at the Foot of it is a Gate called the *Cow-Gate*, which turns Weſt to the Low-ſtreet, becauſe the Cattle are driven to and fro from the great Market-Place; the other leads North into the Suburb called the *Calton*, from whence there is a very handſome Gravel Walk continued to the Town of *Leith*, which is kept in Repair at the publick Charge; we now enter the City at the *Netherbow-Port*, and have an open View up the *High-Street*, where ſtands the *Iron* Kirk, and near it,

in

were given them for a Curſe, as ours are for a Bleſſing; at leaſt theirs might be reckon'd

---

in the Middle of the Street, ſtands the Guard-Houſe where two Companies of Soldiers, at the Charge of the Town, do Duty every Night, and keep the publick Peace of the City: About the Midway between the *Netherbow* and the Caſtle, ſtands the great Church, which before the Reformation was Collegiate, and dedicated to St *Giles*, but it was afterwards divided into ſeveral preaching Places, and Diſtricts of the City were allotted to them, ſo as to be Parochial. When King *Charles* the Firſt erected a new Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*, which before that Time was in the Dioceſe of St. *Andrew*'s, it was made a Cathedral, and the Dean was Forenoon Miniſter of that Part of it called the New Kirk, which is the Choir or Chancel, or Eaſtern Part; the great Croſs under the Tower is called the Old Kirk, and the Front or Weſt Part of it is divided into two Parts; that on the South is called the *Tolbooth* Kirk, and that on the North *Haddo*'s Hole, from the Lord of *Haddo*, who being a great Loyaliſt and Anti-Covenanter, was kept Priſoner in a Vault there until he was beheaded; in the Steeple, which is very high, is a Set of Muſical Bells, and the Town gives a Man a yearly Salary for playing on them, from half an Hour after Eleven, 'till half an Hour after Twelve every Day, Sundays and Holidays excepted. On the South-ſide of this Church, formerly the Church yard

reckon'd as an Antidote againſt that Love and Reſpect which ours juſtly merit

---

yard, is a Square of very fine Buildings, called the *Parliament-Cloſs*, the Weſt and South-ſides, of which are moſtly taken up with the Parliament-Houſe, the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice, the Council Chamber, the Exchequer, the publick Regiſters, the Lawyer's Library, the Poſt-Office, &c. The great Church makes up the North-ſide of the Square: the Eaſt and Part of the South-ſide is built into private Dwellings, which are very ſtately, lofty and ſtrong, being ſeven Stories high in the Front of the Square, and the Hill they ſtand on having a very ſteep Deſcent, ſome of them are no leſs than fourteen Stories high backwards; in the Middle of the Square or Court is the Statue of King *Charles* the Second, in Braſs, erected upon a ſtately Pedeſtal, at the Charge of the City; the great Opening into the High-ſtreet, being the only Paſſage into it for Coaches, is at the North Eaſt Corner, a little from which is the Market-Croſs, where all Proclamations and publick Acts are read, and publiſhed by Heralds and Sound of Trumpet. Here is the great Parade where Gentlemen meet for Buſineſs or News, and ſerves as an Exchange every Day from Eleven to One: Near the Eaſt-end of the great Church ſtands the *Tolbooth*, or common Priſon, as well for Criminals as Debtors; the great Church and the Priſon ſtanding in the middle of this Street, obſtruct its Breadth

rit. Their Horſes were pretty neat Things, with long Tails and Manes, it being

A a

Breadth and Beauty for ſome Space; but beyond thoſe buildings, and the middle Row, called the *Lucken-Booths*, the Street opens again to its former Breadth, and is now called the Lawn-Market, from the Linen-Market being kept here; this Street extends Weſt, to a narrow Part which leads to the Caſtle-Hill; here the Street parts in two, one of which leads directly to Caſtle-Hill, as already noticed, and the other ſtands South-Weſt, which deſcending gradually leads to the Graſs-Market, a Place like *Smithfield*, on Account of a Weekly Market, for Black Cattle, Sheep, Horſes, &c. Without this is a Street called the *Weſt-Bow*, inhabited moſtly by Wholeſale Dealers, in Iron, Pitch, Tar, Oil, Hemp, Flax, Lintſeed, Drugs, Woads, and ſuch like heavy Goods.

The next remarkable Buildings are, firſt, *Heriot*'s Work, which is a large ſtately Pile, adorned with a conſecrated Chapel, and Pleaſant Gardens: It was built by the Rev. Dr. *Peleanguhal*, to whom *George Heriot*, Jeweller to King *James* VI. left near 17001. to be diſpoſed of in pious Uſes; which this worthy Dean did, by building and endowing this Houſe, and giving Statues to it, which he ordered ſhould be unalterable. It is a Nurſery for an infinite Number of the Sons of

Freemen

being cuſtomary to indulge all the Hair that grow on thoſe Parts. Thoſe Troops march'd

---

Freemen, who are maintain'd, cloath'd, and educated in uſeful Learning, 'till they are fit for Apprenticeſhips, or to go to the Univerſity, where they are allowed handſome Salaries and Exhibitions: The next moſt remarkable, is the Royal Infirmary, lately erected but not quite finiſhed; but by our ſick and wounded Soldiers it was pretty well filled, where they had very good Care taken of them: It is a large beautiful Building, and has a great many Conveniences. The Amphitheatre for Operations, is ſaid to be the grandeſt and beſt deſigned of any. It was built by the liberal Contributions of many well diſpoſed Perſons; and there was ſo general a good Will to the Work, that the like has not been known any where, except that of the Temple: I am told that the Proprietors of ſeveral Stone Quarries made Preſents of Stone to it, others of Lime; Merchants contributed Timber, and the Wrights and Maſons were not wanting in gratis Work; the neighbouring Farmers likewiſe agreed to carry Materials gratis: His Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to give 1001. towards it. The following is the Inſcription on the firſt Stone, *The Royal Infirmary at* Edinburgh, *founded* Auguſt 2, 1738, *Earl* Cromoartie, *G. M.* Next is the Royal Palace, a very handſome Building, rather convenient than large; it was formerly both a Royal Palace and an Abbey, found-

ed

march'd to *Perthſhire*, where they were join'd by ſome *Britiſh*, in order to ſtop

---

ed by King *David* I. for the Cannons Regular of St. *Auſtin*, who named it *Hoolyrood-Houſe*, or the Houſe of the *Holy-Croſs*: It was burnt down by *Oliver-Cromwell*, but re-edified by King *Charles* the Second, and of which his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* is hereditary Keeper. It is now almoſt neglected. The long Gallery is adorned with the Pictures of all the *Scots* Kings from *Fergus* I. This ſerved for a Lodging Room for our Soldiers upon Straw, as did moſt of the other Rooms.

The adjoining Park belonging to this Abbey is about four Miles in Circumference, but there is neither Deer nor Tree in it; but there is a craggy Rock about half a Mile high, called *Arthur*'s Seat, for *Arthur* the *Britiſh* King, I was told, uſed to view the adjacent Country from thence this Palace, or Abbey, and the Park are a Sanctuary for Debtors. Cloſe to this Abbey is a neat Phyſick-Garden, abounding with great Variety of curious Plants, with Stoves, under the Direction of Doctor *Charles Alſton*, the preſent Botanical Profeſſor: Next, and laſtly, is the College or Univerſity, which ſtands near the *Potter-row* Port; it conſiſts of three Courts: thoſe Courts are encompaſſed with neat Buildings for the Uſe of ſuch Students as pleaſe to lodge in them; for they do not live in common as in the College of *Dublin*, nor are they obliged to reſide but only to attend their Claſſes at certain Hours. This

the Weſtern Paſſage, in Caſe the Rebels ſhould attempt to return to *England* again. I

This City has, in former Ages, been very variable and inconſtant; ſometimes it was ſubject to the *Scots*, and ſometimes to the *Engliſh*, who inhabited the Eaſt Part of *Scotland*, until it became wholly under the *Scots* Dominion, about the Year 960, when the *Engliſh* being overpowered, and quite oppreſſed by the *Danes*, were forced to quit all their Intereſt here, as unable to grapple with two ſuch potent Enemies. *Edinburgh* is certainly a fine City, and I believe can boaſt of the higheſt Houſes in *Europe*; notwithſtanding it has its Faults, for the City being very cloſe built, and the Want of Common Shores to carry off, occaſions the Town to be very naſty; and about Seven o'Clock in the Morning it ſtinks intolerably, before the Excrements are ſwept away from the Doors, which they throw out of the Windows in the Night; for after Ten o'Clock, it is Fortune favours you, if a Chamber Pot with Excrements, *&c.* is not thrown on your Head: if you are walking in the Streets, it is then diverting to Strangers, to hear all Paſſers by, cry out with a loud Voice, ſufficient to reach the Tops of the Houſes, which are generally ſix or ſeven Stories high in the Front of the *High-Street*, — *Hald yare Hand*, i. e. *hold your Hand*, and means, do not throw 'till I am paſt. Every Stair-Caſe is called a Turnpike or Land, with the Addition of ſome

I ſet out from *Edinburgh* the 10th of *March*, for our Army at *Aberdeen*, having receiv'd proper Inſtruction from Lord Chief Juſtice Clerk; but the Weather being very ſtormy, ſo that no Paſſage Boat could croſs to *Kinghorn*, I was

---

ſome Name to diſtinguiſh it from another; as for Example, hold your Hand in *Bell*'s-Land; this with Variation is the common Cry all over the Streets, at Ten o'Clock at Night, and after: It is very rare to ſee a ſingle Houſe Inhabited by one Family in the High-ſtreet, for generally People of the beſt Rank, have but one Floor which is the firſt and ſecond, the poorer Sort aſcend. They keep their Cloſe ſtools in their Bed-Rooms which they call Boxes, and are emptied out of the Windows at Night: ſo ſhitten Luck often lights on the Perſon who walks at late Hours in the Streets.

The Ladies of *Edinburgh* are very handſome; they uſe the *Scots* Plaids about their Heads and Shoulders, and at Church they almoſt cover their Faces, by which they obſcure thoſe Charms which the ſtricteſt Modeſty might allow them to expoſe, I thought they looked demure and hypocritical; although in an Undreſs (I mean without their Plaids) they are very agreeable: they are alſo very induſtrious, and take great Pride in having moſt Part of their Cloaths the Product of their own

detain'd twenty-four Hours at * *Leith* during which Time I had very good Quarters and kind Usage at Mr *Andrew Carr's*, near the End of the Gravel Walks.

On

---

own Working; are great Admirers of white Thread Stocking, and need not be asham'd of shewing them upon their Legs, they being of their own making; for it is not common to see a *Scots* Woman sit idle. Over the Tea Table they are generally at Work, either upon their Thread to make them Linen or Plaids, or else knitting themselves Stockings, or Gloves most curious and fine; a Piece of Industry not common to Ladies in other Parts; but more the Pity: Their Men on the contrary Live together as idle, as appears by so many of them having spent their Fortunes and enter'd into the Rebellion.

* *Leith* is a large Sea-port Town, a Mile from *Edinburgh*, built on both Sides the River *Leith*, over which is a stately Stone Bridge, to which Ships of Burthen may come, and at High Water lay their Sides close to the Shore; here is a fine Key well wharfed up with Stone, and fenced with Piles. The *Firth* is here 7 Miles across to *Kingborn* on the other Side, where are Ferry-Boats for Men and Horses passing every Tide: Formerly this Town was strongly fortified by one *Desse* a *Frenchman*

On the 11th I croſſed the *Firth*, from *Leith* on *Kinghorn*, which is a ſtragling, dirty Town; as I did not ſtay in it all Night, I made no further Obſervations only in general, that the *Kinghorn* Horſe-hirers and Boatmen, of which the Town chiefly

---

Frenchman, for the Security of *Edinburgh*; after which, great Numbers of People flock'd thither, and in a Short Time from a mean Vallage it grew to a large Town: in the Reign of our King *Henry* VIII. the Sufferings and Calamities both of it and its Neighbours were grievious and inexpreſſible, being both burnt and plunder'd by Sir *John Dudley*, Viſcount *Leſtile*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who came with a powerful Army, and broke down the Pier, burning every Stick thereof, and took away all the Ships that were fit to ſerve him; which kind of Execution was done likewiſe at *Dunbar*. Afterwards, when *Francis* King of *France*, had taken to Wife *Mary* Queen of the *Scots*, *Frenchmen* were in Hopes, and conceited, they had grapled all *Scotland*, and even began to gape for *England*. A. D. 1560, they ſtrengthened it again with new Fortifications; but Queen *Elizabeth* being ſollicited by the Nobles, (who had embrac'd the Proteſtant Religion) to ſide with them; by her Wiſdom and Management ſhe ſo effected the Matter, that the *French* were enforced to return into their own Country, and all the

chiefly consists, are noted all *Scotland* over for their Impudence and impositions, I rode that Evening along the Shore five or six Miles, to *Kircald*, which is compos'd only of one very long Street, built close on the Beach by the Sea-side, Inhabited mostly by Fishermen and Coal-miners; they rise great Quantities of Coals hereabouts; they have likewise several Salt-Pans for boiling and making of Salt.

My next Stage was to *Couper* in *Fife*, the Shire-Town pleasantly situated upon the Banks of the River *Eden*, surrounded with tall Trees, which is a great rarity in that Country; I baited at the Widow *Cooper*'s at the *Cooper*'s Arms who keeps good Entertainment: About Twelve Miles further, over a good pleasant Country, I arriv'd at the

---

the Fortifications were laid level with the Ground and *Scotland* hath ever since been freed from the *French*, and *Leith* is become a very fine flourishing Town, and Port for *Edinburgh*.

Firth

Firth of *Tay* (here I hired a Boat to ferry over to * *Dundee*) which is three Miles broad; it being a rough Tide, and the Wind not very fair, that Evening I was oblig'd to ſtay at what they call the *Weſt-Port*, until Morning.

From *Dundee* I proceed to *Arbroth*, and travelling eight Miles of very bad Road, I came to *Montroſe*, where is a Ferry to croſs over the River *South-Eſk*; here I ſaw the *French* Man of War

---

* *Dundee* is ſituated near the *Tay*'s Mouth, to which from the Ferry is join'd a Cauſeway or Walk, well pav'd with flat Free-Stone, and Rows of Trees are planted on either Side of the Walk, which makes it very agreeable. The Name ſeems to be deriv'd from *Dun*, a Hill; and the River *Tay*, is ſituated on the North-Side of it; It is a Town of Note, good Trade, and well built has two very long and large Streets, with a large Market Place in the Middle, ſaid to be the largeſt and faireſt in *Scotland*, except that at *Aberdeen*. This Town ſtands in a pleaſant Plain, and beſides the Advantages juſt now metioned, hath two Churches, and a Harbour for Ships of Burthen. The Inhabitants are generally rich, and thoſe that fall to decay have a large Hoſpital provided for them

War that was wreck'd, which brought over Lord *John Drummond*. This Town is well ſituated for Trade, having a good Harbour. *Montroſe* makes a very fine Appearance from the Ferry, and lies near the Sea; it conſiſts only of one very fine Street, and another ſhort one,

---

them. The great Church was formerly Collegiate, and a very large Building; but Part of it was demoliſhed in the Civil War, when this Town was ſtormed by *Cromwell*. The Tower upon the Church is a handſome ſquare Building, large, antient, and very high, and is a good Ornament to the Town.

From *Dundee*, it is twelve Miles through the Shire of *Angus*, and a good Road, which is moſtly by the Sea-ſide to *Aberbrothock*, commonly called *Arbroath*: It is a Royal Borough; where ſtands the ſtately Ruins of the greateſt Abbey in *Scotland*, the Walls being moſtly ſtanding; yet looks very grand at a Diſtance, and was a Place of old, dedicated to Religion, by King *William* of *Scotland*, who died in 1214, in Honour of St. *Thomas Becket*, and endowed by him with large Revenues; he lies here interr'd, and has a ſtately Monument. It is alſo favour'd with a Mineral Spring, much frequented for many Diſeaſes: Is a pretty little Town, pleaſantly ſituated, with a Harbour. The chief Manufacture here is Thread, which paſſes for *Dundee* Thread, the moſt noted in *Scotland*.

going

going off at the End of it: Here is a very pretty Kirk and a Town-House; the Streets are very broad and well pav'd the People very genteel, but disaffected. I quartered in going North at the best Inn (I forgot what Sign they kept) however they did not forget to make an extravagant Charge; I suppos'd they had used the Rebels more kindly who had been there a little before; but in my Return from the *Highlands* I had very agreeable Quarters at *Montrose*; there were four Troops of Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons at this Time in Town, and when on the march with the Army, I being a Volunteer, was always put to Gentlemen's Houses to quarter; so at this Time I was billeted on a most agreeable young Lady whose Parents were lately dead, but she had a great Regard for *Charley*; and at Breakfast, there being no other in Company, she, with a pretty innocent Freedom, ask'd me, *If I did not think that P--- C--- was the Right Heir to the Crown?* To which I answered *Madam, you cannot think that I am of that Opinion, when you consider*

how

how far I have gone to bear arms againſt him, and in the Station of a Volunteer. Pretty Miſs replied, *that was the only convincing Reaſon which could be given; for had you bore a Commiſſion*, continued ſhe, *I ſhould have doubted your Sincerity and think it ſtrange you ſhould be ſo much biaſs'd in your Judgment.* Had this Diſcourſe proceeded from one of my own Sex, I ſhould have been out of Humour; but from ſo agreeable a Perſon, nothing could come amiſs. I told her *That I had endur'd a great deal of fatigue in the Government's Service, during the Time of the Rebellion, receiv'd no Pay, nor got any Plunder; but that if I could get ſo pretty a Rebel Lady as ſhe was, to carry with me to* England, *I ſhould be fully recompenced for all my Trouble.* To which Miſs replied, *That Gentlemen on their Travels don't like to be troubled with Ladies; and that ſhe thought ſhe might rather ſeem to be a Plague, to torment me, for the Sins I had committed, in rebelling againſt a lawful Prince.* In this Manner we ſat about two Hours at the Tea-Table; at

which

which Time I was as much in Love with her agreeable Company, as ſhe was with her Mock Prince.

It is remarkable, many of the prettieſt Ladies in *Scotland* are *Jacobites*, and Members of *Nonjuring* Meeting-Houſes; although I could wiſh that all ſuch, as my pretty Hoſteſs, were married to Men well-affected to the preſent Government, who by kind indulgent Methods, might bring over the valuable Fair to a better Way of Thinking, many of the *Scots* Ladies being very handſome and I am ſure that if their Bodies and Minds bear a juſt Reſemblance, by good Uſage they might be reclaim'd; ſo that in thoſe Caſes the Husband ſhould be anſwerable for the Wife's Default.

After leaving *Montroſe* about a Mile, I came to the *North-Eſk*, where there is a ſmall Ferry for Foot-Paſſengers, but the Horſe fords it when there is little Freſh in the River, which runs with a very ſtrong Current; however, my Horſe being heavy, I got very well over by

keeping up againſt the Stream; after which I croſs'd over eight Miles of a moſt wretched Country to *Bervie*; the Road being exceſſive bad, I loſt a Shoe from my Horſe; it likewiſe rain'd and blew hard, which much fatigued me: At the going into the End of this Town, which had a miſerable bad Appearance, I met with a diſcreet looking Man, conſidering the Place, of whom I asked the Queſtion, If there was ever an honeſt Smith in the Town, that would not take Pleaſure in lameing the King's Horſe? (though it was my own as I employed him in the King's Service, might be reckoned his) To which the Gentleman anſwered, That their Smiths were not accuſtomed to ſhoe ſuch Horſes, but deſired me to alight, and he would order his Servant to take Care of my Horſe. In this bad Country, I was deſirous to know who I had met with that ſhew'd ſuch Civility at one in the Government's Service; whom I afterwards underſtood to be a Miniſter of the eſtabliſh'd Church who were always zealous Friends to the Gover ment: He took me to his Houſe,

and

and whilſt my Horſe was ſhoeing, had Dinner dreſs'd and brought to the Table, in a very neat Manner, by a Man-Servant; as the Miniſter was a Batchelor, he kept no other but Men-Servants, who brew'd his Drink, dreſs'd his Victuals, and did the other Buſineſs about the Houſe, with as much Decency as any Maid-Servant I had ſeen in the Country, At and after Dinner we had extraordinary good Ale of their own brewing, and as a Fence againſt the Inclemency of the Weather, was adviſ'd to drink ſome very good Brandy, I ſuppoſe of the Produce of *France*, and perhaps never paid Duty; for this and all other little Towns along the ſhore, appear to live moſtly by Smuggling and Fiſhing——

From *Bervie* I got to *Stonehive* that Evening, eight Miles farther: This little Town is built cloſe under an Hill, by the Sea-Side, ſo that there is no Houſe to be ſeen until you come directly to the Town. I put up at an Inn kept by one Doctor *Lawſon*, which is the beſt in the Town; in the Morning I met with

Capt. *Hayes* whom I was glad to ſee, as I was travelling alone in that wild Country; he with ſome other Officers were on their March to the Army, with about the Number of two Companies of recovered Soldiers, that had been left ſick at *Blair*-Caſtle, and other Places. At this Town there is a pretty little Harbour for ſmall Ships, it being moſtly an Inlet betwixt great Rocks. From *Stonehive* it is twelve Miles to *Aberdeen*; the latter half Way is the wretchedeſt Country that I ever ſaw until then; but had the Pleaſure, ſuch as it was, to ſee a great deal more of the ſame Sort afterwards, producing nothing but Peat, it being ſo barren, that Hether won't grow, and lies ſo thick with Coble-Stones, as to render the Road hard and rough; but having good Company made it ſomewhat greeable.

About a Mile before you come to the City, there is a ſtately Stone-Bridge conſiſting of ſeven Arches, with Watch-Towers (built by *Gawin Dumbar*, then Biſhop of *Aberdeen*) a-croſs the River-*Dee*:

Dee; you then travel along the bank of this River, and have a moſt pleaſant Proſpect of * *New Aberdeen*. I had met with one of the Townſmen at *Dundee*, who gave me directions to his Houſe, where I put up my Horſe for the preſent otherwiſe I ſhould have been at a loſs to have found an Inn, (which they call change Houſes,) there being but one Sign in the Town, to notify ſuch a Houſe, although there is a great many publick Houſes in the Place, but I was yet at a want for Furrage, as I had always before mentain'd my Horſe at my own Expence, but here, there was nothing of that kind to be had at an Inn, all the Furrage being order'd into Magazines, and none to be delivered out without a proper Order; I not being Incorporated to any Particular Regiment was obliged to apply to his Royal Highneſs; although very unwilling to

* *New Aberdeen* is ſituated near the Sea, 57 Degrees 25 Minutes North Latitude; is the Capital of the Sherriffdom of *Aberdeen*, the Seat of the Sheriff

give the Duke that trouble, who ordered me to make Application to Colonel *Neiper*, (who was Ajutant General,) from whom I received an Order to the Commiſſary of Furrage, which was Tranſmitted into a General Order, (I carried with me as I was a Volunteer at large,) to receive Furrage at any Place in *Scotland*, where the King had a Magazine.

On the 15th of *March* I arriv'd here; at which Time his Royal Highneſs had ordered the Army to be divided into three Cantonements, and the Battalions were daily marching off; the whole firſt Line, conſiſting of ſix Battalions the Duke of *Kingſton's* Horſe, and Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons, were ordered to *Straithbogie*, within twelve Miles of the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *Albemarle* and Major-General *Bland*; the Reſerve

---

Sheriff for trying Cauſes, and much exceeds the reſt of the Cities in the North of *Scotland*, in Bigneſs, Trade and Beauty. The Air is very wholeſome

Reſerve, conſiſting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier *Mordaunt*, to *Old Meldrum*, half Way betwixt *Straithbogie* and this Place; and the whole ſecond Line, conſiſting of ſix Battalions, and Lord *Mark Kerr*'s Dragoons, remained here.

On the 21ſt, an advanced Party, conſiſting of a Captain with 50 Highlanders, and 30 of *Kingſton*'s Light Horſe, had been detached by General *Bland* to *Keith* where a party of Rebels were juſt preparing to ſit down to Dinner; but on the Approach of the King's Men the Rebels fled,

---

ſome, and the Inhabitants well bred: the River *Dee* runs along the Back of the Town, and is pretty Broad, but hath many Sands, which are almoſt dry at low Tide. About half a Mile from the Town, Ships of the largeſt Burthen may come up, and ſmaller Craft come even with the Middle of the Town: There are alſo great Quantities of Salmon catch'd here, which the Proprietors Pickle and export to *London*: There is likewiſe great Plenty of all Sorts of white Fiſh: The Streets are well paved, and the Houſes built with Stone and

fled, and left their Dinner to be eaten by those it was not intended for; but they being informed of the Number of our Men, resolved to return and fall upon them in the Night; our loyal Highland Men, who, to do them Justice, were always willing and ready to do the hardest Duty, had desired *Kingston*'s Men to go to bed, expecting all was safe, and that they would do the Duty for that Night; accordingly they fixed their Guard in the Church-Yard: The Rebels, in Number about 500, marched back from *Focharbers*, where they had fled

---

and Slate, and are generally four Stories high: The Town consists of three or four good Streets; that called the *Broad-street* is the Principal, and is really a fine Street of stately Houses: Here is likewise a fine Market Place call'd *Castle-street*, which is very spacious: in the Middle of which stands an antient and curious Cross, with many Antique Figures round the Upper part of it; and a little higher there is a very useful Conduit, as there is in every Street; where there is a constant Resort of People for Water to them. Opposite to the Market-Cross, is the *Tolbooth*, which serves for a Prison and Stadt-house? near the same Place is

fled to, and entered the Town at both Ends falling upon the *Campbells*, who bravely defended themſelves for half an Hour, during which Time there was a brisk Fire on both Sides; but being over-powered by Numbers were obliged to ſubmit, and the whole Party was loſt, except a Cornet and five of *Kingſton*'s Men, two Horſes and one Highlander, who made made their Eſcape; one of the Troopers that eſcaped was ſhot in the Arm, and was obliged to have it cut off at *Straithbogie*. I happened to be at the Duke's Quarters when the above Account came

---

is the Guard-Houſe: I had Occaſion to be at all the three different Places in one Day, with a Rebel Priſoner that I had taken. Here are three Churches, *viz.* the College-Church, an ancient Building; likewiſe the Old and the New Churches, adjoining each other, both large Buildings. The New Church is in very good order; but that Part called the Old Church the Roof is fallen from ſome Part of it, and out of Repair however it ſerved for a Magazine, to keep our Straw and unthreſhed Corn in. In the Church-yard; along the Walls, ſtood about 300 Horſes that belong'd to our Train of Artillery picqueted; here they remain'd Night and Day, notwithſtanding

ing

came by one of *Kingſton*'s Troopers, who was a man of no very good Conduct, he being ſubject to drink, and had like to have quarrelled with one of Lord *Mark Kerr*'s Dragoons : I out of regard to the Cohort he belonged to, took my Horſe and conveyed him ſafe out of the Town, likewiſe through *Old Aberdeen*, and over the Bridge of *Don*, about three Miles in his Way. The River *Don* is remarkable for the abundance of Salmon and Trout taken in it : The Bridge is famous for its Extent, being only one Arch over that large River, and is reckoned

---

ing the Severity of the Weather. There are two Epiſcopal Meeting-Houſes, one of which is very Handſome, having a neat Organ, and many other Ornaments ; the other was likely to be attainted of Treaſon ; Idon't know how it far'd ; but there were two other Epiſcopal Nonjuring Meeting-Houſes in Town, whom our Soldiers burnt, but with good Husbandry and Frugality, not conſuming the Pile at once, as was often the Caſe ; the Wood being induſtriouſly reſerved to heat our Bakers Ovens. What gave me the moſt Concern was, that ſo many of the Handſomeſt of the *Scots* Ladies were Attendants of theſe Meeting-Houſes : but

ed a curious Piece of Workmanſhip; this immenſe Arch of Stone is ſprung from two Rocks, one on each Side, which ſerve as a Butment to the Arch ſo that it may be ſaid to have a Foundation co-equal with Nature, and will laſt as long; this Bridge has been remarkable to

---

but their agreeable Accompliſhments were a ſufficient Protection, from the Reſentment of well-bred Men; as for their pretty Gentlemen, we could manage well enough when we met with them.

The greateſt Ornament of this City is its College, called the *Marſhalian* Academy, being founded by *George Keith*, Earl *Marſhal*, in the Year 1554. The City of *Aberdeen* hath been very much adorned with ſeveral additional Buildings beſides a Primary Profeſſor, who is call'd Principal: It has four Profeſſors of Philoſophy, one of Divinity, and one of the Mathematicks, and there is lately added a Profeſſor of Phyſick. It has alſo a very good Library, founded by the City, enlarged by the Gifts of ſeveral learned Men, and well furniſhed, with Mathematical Inſtruments. This College, with that of the Old Town, make up one Univerſity, called the Univerſity of King *Charles* II. I happened to get acquainted with the Keeper of the Library, who gave me this Account of

to Travellers, but more ſo at this Time, for we had taken a Rebel Spy, who was hanged on a Tree cloſe to this Bridge, with this Writing fixed on his Breaſt, *A Rebel Spy*; which of Conſequence would hinder Crows from building Neſts in that Tree for a Seaſon.

Although

---

of it. This City is built upon three Hills, but the greateſt Part is upon the Higheſt, and at the Head of which ſtands an old Caſtle, moſtly in Ruins; but it likewiſe ſerved for a Magazine to keep our Hay and Corn in: The other Part of the Town is ſpread out upon the Plain, from whence there is an eaſy Acceſs by an Aſcent every Way except that Side next the River, whoſe Bank is ſteep: There had formerly been a Mint here, as appears, by Silver Coins ſtamped, with this Inſcription, *Urbs Aberdenæ*, which are ſtill preſerved in the Cloſets of the Curious.

At the Weſt End of this City is a little round Hill, at the Foot of which there riſes a Fountain of clear Water: and in the Middle another Spring bubbles up, call'd the *Aberdenian Spaw*; 'tis ſaid to come near the Spaw-Water in the Biſhoprick of *Leige*, both in Taſte and Quality, particularly concerning which Dr. *William Barclay* wrote a Treatiſe. The Manufacture here is chiefly Stockings, of which they make vaſt Quantities all round

Although the continued bad Weather for ſome Time paſt had raiſed the Waters, and retarded the Proceedings of the Army againſt the Rebels, yet there was always ſomething doing, that help'd to leſſen their Intereſt, and put a Check to any further Riſings of them.

---

round the adjacent Country; and every Morning the Women bring in Loads to ſell about the Town to Merchants, who have them ſcoured for Exportation to *London*, *Hamburgh*, and *Holland*: they are generally all white from the Maker, and knit moſtly plain, ſome ribbed, and a great many with Squares, which greatly pleaſe the *Dutch*. They make Stockings here in common, from one Shilling a Pair to a Guinea and Half; and ſome are ſo fine as to ſell for five Guineas the Pair. They have an Exportation of Pork, which they pickle and pack up in Barrels, and ſell to the *Dutch*, for victualling their *Eaſt-Endia* Ships and their Men of War: The *Aberdeen* Pork has the Reputation of being the beſt cured in *Europe*, for keeping in long Voyages.

Old Aberdeen is a Mile from the New City, and conſiſts of one long Street, has one Church, and a College more noted than that of the new Town: this old Town was formerly the Biſhop's Seat, and

About the 20th his Royal Highneſs the Duke got certain Intelligence, that the Earl of *Airly*, Father to the Lord *Ogilvie*, was raiſing his Men to join the Rebels; and he not having complied with the Order to deſiſt from ſuch treaſonable Practices, his Royal Highneſs ordered Captain *Hewett*, with 100 recover'd Men, who were coming up to the Army, to take Poſſeſſion of his Houſe, and to make him Priſoner in it until his People ſhould bring in their Arms, and behave in ſuch a Manner as became good Subjects; which had ſo good an Effect, that a Number brought in their Arms and deſiſted from their Intention of joining the Rebels; His Royal Highneſs likewiſe ordered Major *La*

---

and has a Cathedral, commonly called St. *Machar*'s, a large ſtately Structure, which was antiently much more magnificent: It ſuffered greatly at the Time of the Reformation, but more ſince the Revolution. The Windows of this Church were formerly very remarkable for their ſtained Glaſs; and ſomething of its antient Splendour ſtill remains: The Steeple, beſides other Bells,

La Fauſille with 300 Men to go to *Glen-Esk*, which is one of the moſt rebellious Parts to attack all whom he might find in Arms againſt the Govern-

---

Bells, has two of a very extraordiary Bigneſs. The chief Ornament of this Town is the College, conſiſting of a fine Square, with a good Pump in the Middle of it, and makes a grand Appearance at a Diſtance: It was founded by Biſhop *Elphingſtone*, in the Year 1500, and the greateſt Part built by him; but King *James* IV. taking the Patronage upon himſelf, it was call'd the King's College. A Bull was procured from Pope *Alexander* VI. in 1510, endowing it with as ample Privileges as thoſe of *Paris* and *Bononia*. There is in this College a principal, a Subprincipal, three Regents or Profeſſors of Philoſophy, a Profeſſor of Humanity, a Profeſſor of Divinity, a Doctor of Phyſick, a Profeſſor of the Oriental Tongues, a Profeſſor of the Civil Law, and a Profeſſor of the Mathematicks. This Town being pleaſantly ſituated, I uſed to ride out here often, taking a Turn to the Sea-Side, over the *Links*, being green Fields ſo called, running along the Shore to the *Blockhouſe*, a Fort planted with Cannon at the Mouth of the River *Dee*, which commands the Entrance of that River; along the Banks of which it is very pleaſant and much frequented by People walking or riding, to obſerve the Ships in the River, it being about a Mile from *New Aberdeen* to the Block-Houſe; there are ſeveral Houſes all the Way inhabited by Fiſhermen, Aleſellers, *&c.*

ment, and to burn the Habitations of ſuch as had left them, and were with the Rebels: Accordingly the Major diſarmed all the Rebels in *Clova* and *Glen-Esk*, and joined the Army with near 500 recovered Men: Two Hundred of *Stoneywood*'s Men belonging to the Rebels, whom they attempted to embark at *Findorn*) deſerted from them, and ſeveral of the Deſerters ſaid, that the Rebel-Army was in great Want of Money, having received no Pay for ſeven Days, but that the *Hazard Sloop* was expected with a Supply.

Lord *Loudon*, for very good Reaſons, abandon'd Fort St. *George* at *Inverneſs* and drew off his Men, leaving only a ſmall Garriſon in it under the Command of Major *Grant*, with Orders to defend it, which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Rebels without much Reſiſtance; for which, Major *Grant* was try'd by a Court-Martial and broke: The Rebels likewiſe made themſelves Maſters of *Fort Auguſtus*, and the Old Barracks, and made the Garriſon, conſiſting of three Com-

Companies of *Guiſe's* Regiment Priſoners: The Advantages the Rebels expected by taking Fort *George* and Fort *Auguſtus*, and the Retreat of Lord *Loudon* was to draw the Seat of War amongſt the Hills, and protract it a little longer; for the only Junction they gained there, was ſome few of the *Mackenzies*, headed by the Lady *Seafooth*, but the Lord of that Name was with Lord *Loudon*, as was Mr *Macintoſh* whoſe Lady likewiſe join'd the Rebels at *Inverneſs*, and was reckon'd the Beauty there, She got together all her Clan, and marched at their Head (with a white Cockade, &c) and preſented them to the Mock Prince: for which (without Doubt) ſhe was moſt kindly received by him; and as he had abandoned the Female Colonel *Cameron*, in his Flight from *Stirling* the Loſs of her might now be made up by this Lady.

The Siege of Fort *William* by the Rebels (of all their Unndertakings) was the moſt regularly carried on from the 14th of *March* to the 3d of *April* with

1500 Men, 8 Pieces of Cannon, and 7 Mortars under the Command of Brigadier *Stapleton*, and under him *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Cleanronald* with three or four more Chiefs of the *Macdonalds*, *Stewarts* and *Camerons*: The Garriſon being bravely defended by Capt. *Scott*, having ſeveral Reinforcements ſent him and it being not in the Power of the Rebels to cut off the Communication by Sea, on the 14th they raiſed the Siege, and left the Garriſon in Poſſeſſion of all their Artillery. At this Time the Caſtle of *Blair* had been attack'd by a party of the Rebels under the Command of the Lord *George Murray* and another Body of them had proceeded to Caſtle *Menzies* another Seat of the Duke of *Athol*'s: Sir *Andrew Agnew*, who defended *Blair* Caſtle, although he was much diſtreſſed for Want of Proviſions, bravely held out until the 3d of *April*, at Five o'Clock in the Morning, when the Earl of *Crawford*, with a Party of Dragoons arrived there, and was followed by the Duke of *Athol*, upon whoſe Approach the Rebels raiſed the Siege, and retired to *Ruthven*;

Ruthven; as did I likewiſe thoſe from Caſtle *Menzie*: The Prince of *Heſſe* likewiſe marched from *Perth* for the Relief of *Blair*; and on the 4th, his Royal Highneſs the Prince ſet out from *Dunkeld* for the Caſtle, with all the Cavalry and Huſſars, and was followed by 1000 Foot: This Relief was very ſeaſonable, the Garriſon in the Caſtle having been, (as I was informed, which is highly to the Honour of Sir *Andrew Agnew* obliged to eat Horſe Fleſh ſeveral Days.

There is at the End of *Aberdeen*, a ſtately large Houſe with Gardens, &c. called *Silerton*'s Works built by one of that Name; and after his Deceaſe, both were bought by the Town for an Hoſpital, but it never came to any Perfection in that Way. This Houſe his Royal Highneſs the Duke fortified with a deep Trench, Palliſadoes, Horn-Works, &c. for the Uſe of a Magazine and Hoſpital for our Sick and wounded Soldiers; and at the ſame Time left a ſufficient Force in it, under the Command of Major *Crosby*, to ſecure the Town

Town and it from any Inſults from *Glenbucket's* People, or any other. In giving a Deſcription of *Old Aberdeen*, I forgot to acquaint you, that beſides the Church and College, there was a handſome Modern built Epiſcopal Nonjuring Meeting-Houſe, but the Congregation (as all others of that kind) were rebelliouſly inclined, hindering the Country People from coming in with Turf, for the ſupport of the King's Army, on which the Soldiers fell to Work with their Meeting-Houſe, and diſpoſed of it in the ſame Manner of the other two, in the New Town of *Aberdeen*. In thoſe Caſes a Soldier in Time of War, if not more Expeditions than a Juſtice of Peace, in putting the Laws in Execution: Nay, they even ſometimes make good Laws which anſwer the Preſent occaſion. Whilſt we continued here, I one day happen'd to meet with two Butchers who inform'd me that when they went into the Country to buy Cattle for the uſe of the King's Army, had occaſion to go paſt a Man's Houſe who threatned to kill them, if they came that way again,

on

on the like occaſion, I deſired them to go and ſhew me where this Man lived which they did, it being about a Mile diſtance, and happening to meet with him I brought him off Priſoner and delivered him to the Main-Guard, this Confirms what I have ſaid of the Millitary Law, for had this Complaint been made to a Juſtice of the Peace, although a Jacobite durſt do no leſs than grant a Warrant for the tranſgreſſor, yet there might have been delays in the Execution of it, whereas this affair was tranſacted immediately, and the Obſtruction of the Butcher going about their lawful occaſions quickly removed.

For ſome Days before we marched, there were ſcandalous written Libels drop'd about the Town by the Rebel Party: I happened to find one of them in the Lane going out of *Broad-ſtreet* to the Duke's Quarters, where I carried it; the Subſtance of which was, to admoniſh our Soldiers of their Danger that attended us in the Purſuit of the Rebels; and that there were ſeveral Miners about the

Spey

Spey ready for blowing us up on our Appreach. In order to find the Authors of which ſeveral of the Inhabitants were oblig'd to ſhew their Hand-writing to People appointed for that Purpoſe, which by comparing with the Libels, was hoped would be found out; but it proved ineffectual.

His Royal Highneſs ſpared no Pains or Trouble to put every Thing in Readineſs to be in Motion ſooner, but bad Weather and contrary Winds had hitherto prevented him; at length a few Days of dry Southerly Wind brought up our Tranſports with *Bligh*'s Regiment, our Firing and Proviſion. His Royal Highneſs having ſent two Officers to reconnoitre the *Spey*, they returned with an Account, that the Waters were much abated. On the 6th of *April* he gave Orders for the Army to march next Day; but before it began, Captain *M-Kay*, Lord *Rea*'s Son and Sir *Henry Monroe* Son of the late Sir *Robert*, both Captains in Lord *Loudon*'s Regiment, arriv'd with the agreeable News, from

Capt.

Capt. *O' Brien*, of the *Sheerneſs* Man of War, now here, that he, after chaſing the *Hazard* Sloop above fifty Leagues, had drove her aſhore, and obliged the *French* and *Spaniards* who were on board, to quit her; but they landed five Cheſts of Money, to the value of Twelve Thouſand Pounds and upwards, in order to join the Rebels. Had this Landing been in a rebellious Country they had been ſafe; but the Lord *Rea* in whoſe Country they landed, being well affected, and at whoſe Houſe Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monroe*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, and Capt. *Macleod*, with ſome other Officers, and about eighty Men of Lord *London*'s Regiment (who had been driven thither by the Rebels) being now join'd by ſome Lord *Rea*'s People march'd out and attack'd them, and after killing four, and dangerouſly wounding eight, took the remaining 156 Priſoners, amongſt whom were forty experienced *French* Officers, who were immediately embarked on board the *Sheerneſs* and the Prize, in which were a great Number of Fire-Arms, Broad Swords, *&c* together with

with the Officers and Men, that made this Capture, who all arrived at *Aberdeen*: This Affair put a ſtop to our March until the next Day. Thus the Rebels long expected Succour happily fell into our Hands, and undoubtedly muſt be a great Diſappointment to them.

On *Tueſday* the 8th of *April*, his Royal Highneſs marched from *Aberdeen*, with ſix Battalions of Foot, and Lord *Mark Kerr*'s Dragoons in order to ſeek the Rebels: It being fine Weather, our Tranſports at the ſame Time, moved along Shore, with a gentle Breeze and fair Wind. We marched through *Old Aberdeen*, which I have already deſcribed, from thence paſſed through ſeveral ſmall Villages of no Fame (except *New Macher*, noted for a famous Bawdy-Houſe, kept by an old Woman and her two Daughters) to *Old Meldrum*, a poor old dirty Town, where the Army quarter'd the firſt Night, after 12 Miles March.

Our

Our next March was to *Bamff*; in our Way thither we came to *Turreff*, a poor little Town, built irregularly on a Hill-ſide, which made a much better Proſpect at a Diſtance. The chief Manufactory here, as well as at *Old Melarum*, is Stockings. From hence I paſſed with the Advanced-Guard over a fine hilly Country, until I came to * *Bamff*, where his Royal Highneſs gave the Army a Day's Reſt.

Here were two Rebel Spies taken; the one was knotching on a Stick the Number of our Forces, for which he was hanged on a Tree in the Town; and the other a little out of Town; and for want of a Tree, was hanged on what they call the Ridging-Tree of a Houſe,

* *Bamff* is a Royal Borough, the firſt Sea Port Town we came to after we left *Aberdeen*, and ſituated at the Mouth of the River *Deveron* in the *Boine*, 58 Degrees North Latitude, which divides the Shire of *Bamff* from that of *Buchan*. Before we could enter *Bamff* we were obliged to foord this broad River.

that projected out from the End, and on his Breaſt was fix'd, this Inſcription.

All you that does paſs by,
Take warning by me, a Rebel Spy

which, with the Addition of *good Entertainment*, might have been a very famous Sign.

That Morning the Army marched from *Bamſt*; as I quartered two Miles ſhort of it, the Gentleman's Servant where I lodged was ſent with me, to conduct me over the Water, and a nigher Way than that of the common Road. Riding along the Path-Way through the Fields, I paſt by Dr. *Abernethy*'s Houſe, who was made Priſoner at *Carliſle*; and as I have been informed ſince, was condemned to die at *London*, but reprieved for a Time; during which he fell ſick and died at a Meſſenger's Houſe.

I had but juſt come up with the Army and taken my Station at the Head of the Duke of *Kingſton*'s Horſe, which compoſed

poſed the Van-Guard, when they ſaw a great Fire burning vehemently, at about a Mile and a half Diſtant on our Left; the Officers not knowing what it was, I propos'd to go and ſee; when I came there, I found it to be a *Nonjuring* Meeting-Houſe ſet on Fire by a Party of *Kingſton's* Horſe, that were reconnoitring the Hills. After ſix Miles March, in our Way to *Cullen*, we came to *Portſoy*, a pretty ſmall Village, with the Sea coming full up to the Town: Here we were joined by the whole Army, which was too numerous to get Quarters ſo that the Foot encamped that Night on ſome ploughed Ground to the Right of the Town, and the Horſe lay in the Towns. From *Portſoy* to *Cullen* is three Miles.

Cullen is a ſmall Town, conſiſting of one Street, at the Entrance of which is a fine Seat belonging to the Earl of *Finlater*, but had been plundered by the Rebels: His Royal Highneſs quartered here, and the Lord and Lady *Finlater* accompanied the Duke, in all the March

from *Aberdeen* to *Inverneſs*; here the People are well affected to the Government.

From *Cullen*, our next Day's March was to *Fochabers*, eight Miles: In the Way thither, we paſs'd by large barren Mountains on our Left, and then came to ſome better Land, where we had a pleaſant Proſpect of our Tranſports and Men of War, ſtanding in cloſe to the Shore, who diſcharged ſome Shot at a Party of Rebel Huſſars on the other Side of the *Spey*, which when we came in Sight of, we obſerved the Rebel Army were aſſembled with their white Flags diſplayed, making a formidable Appearance. Our Army continued their March to within half a Mile of the River, when the Duke of *Kingſton's* Horſe, which was the Advanced-Guard, ſtop'd for Orders at the Head of a ploughed Field, above the Town of *Fochabers*. It was a general Rule that I obſerv'd during the Campaign, always when an Engagement was expected, that I fed my Horſe, by which he was enabled to

to go through any hard Service. During the Time we halted here, I rode down a Field to a Man that was ſowing Corn, who was Servant to the Duke of *Gordon*, and he fed my Horſe. By this Time the Foot with the Cannon came up, when the Rebels ſet Fire to their Barracks, likewiſe to their Guard-Houſe, which looked as if they did not intend to ſtand an Engagement. At this Time his Royal Highneſs gave orders for the Duke of *Kingſton*'s Horſe to advance. Accordingly we marched through the Town of *Inchabers*, which conſiſts moſtly of one very long Street, where I obſerved ſeveral good Houſes, and People of Faſhion ſtanding looking at us; but not one Perſon to wiſh us good Succeſs.

We again halted by the River-Side, about 500 Yards above the Foord, for farther Orders (at this Time the Foot were moving down to the Right of *Inchabers*) which we received from the Lord *Ancram*, to continue our March and croſs the River. I was then in my Station at the Head of the Regiment,

where I very narrowly eſcaped being ſhot; for ſome of the Rebels fired at us acroſs the River, kneeling and taking Sight as at a Black-Bird: We enter'd the River with a Guide wading on Foot to ſhew where the Foord lay; which was bad enough, having looſe Stones at the Bottom, which made it very difficult for Man or Horſe to ſtep without falling the Water Belly-deep and very rapid; the Foord not lying right a-croſs, we were obliged to go Midway into the River, then turn to the Right and go down it for about ſixty Yards, and then turn to the left inclining upwards to the landing Place; In this Situation, had the Rebels ſtood us here, it might have been of bad Conſequence to our Army, they having a great Advantage over us, and might have defended this Important Paſs a long Time to our great Loſs; but they wanted to draw our Army over, and farther into their Country, from whence (in their Imagination) we were never to return: When we got up the Banks on the other Side of the River, the Rebels were all fled, and appeared

on

on a Hill about half a Mile Diſtant, from which they retreated out of Sight as we advanced : The *Campbells* were the next that followed us, and one of them chanced to get a Shot at a Rebel, and killed his long Tail'd White Horſe on which he had rode about very briskly. Our Army ſuſtained no Loſs in croſſing the River *Spey*, excepting a Dragoon and a Woman, who fell from a Horſe and were drowned After the Rebels were fled out of Sight, our Foot encamped on the North Side of the *Spey*, and Straw being wanted to bed the Tents, they were obliged to uſe Barley unthreſhed, which was very bad to ly upon; the Horſe were ordered to repaſs the River, and Quarter in the Town of *Fochabers* (where I had very bad Quarters) and utmoſt Precaution was taken to prevent any Surprize.

This Vigilance of his Royal Highneſs was not without good Effect, as the Rebels then and ſince have experienced, for though there and at *Nairn*, they made Attempts to ſteal an Advantage, yet

yet his Royal Highneſs prevented their Deſigns. After that his Royal Highneſs had form'd the neceſſary Diſpoſitions he took up his Quarters at the Miniſter's Houſe on the North-Side of the *Spey*, which had been Lord *John Drummond*'s Quarters. After we had done ſcowering the Hills, I drank a Bottle of very good Ale there, provided at the Rebels Expence; the Gentleman of the Houſe being overjoyed that he had an Opportunity of diſpoſing of it in another Manner than what it was intended for. The Chief and only Ornament in *Lochabers* in *Gordon* Caſtle, ſituated nigh the *Spey* Side and was formerly called the Bog of *Gight*, the nobleſt Palace in this Part of the North, being the Duke of *Gordon*'s chief Seat, and is adorned with pleaſant Gardens, Park, and fine Canal, with a moſt agreeable Fountain and Statues, which the Rebels had defaced, by ſhooting at them for their Diverſion.

The River *Spey* produces vaſt Quantities of Salmon: It is cuſtomary for the Highlanders, who live nigh theſe great Rivers,

Rivers, to make little Boats of Willows, in the Nature of Baskets, and cover them over with Hides; in which they go a fiſhing; which the Poet remarks thus:

Great SPEY driveſforward, with impetuous Force,
Huge Banks of Sand, and knows no certain Courſe
Here for a Boat, an Oſier Pannier row'd,
By ſome bold Peaſant, glides along the Flood.

Sunday April 13 About Six in the Morning our Troops left *Fochabers*, croſſing the *Spey* again, which divides the Shire of *Murray* from that of *Bamff*; here I had an Opportunity of obſerving the Rebels Barracks, which were very long, ſo that about 2000 Men might ſleep in them, built cloſe to a Bank above the River, with Sods, Earth and Sticks, according to their Highland Architecture. As our Army continued their March, the Rebels fled before us; we had a good Road over a level Country to * *Elgin*, and encamped in the Pariſh

* *Elgin* in *Murray*, is a Royal Borough, pretty large, conſiſting of one very long Street, and others

Pariſh of *Alvis*, four Miles on the other Side, which was more Hilly ; from whence we had a pleaſant Proſpect of the Sea, it being fine Weather: I rode Part of it twice over that Day ; for as I had not been in Bed the Night before, I expected better Repoſe that Night, and accordingly returned from the Camp to the Town of *Elgin*.

Late in the Evening, a Report was ſpread in the Town, that 200 Rebels were coming from the *Spey* Side ; on which the Lord and Lady *Finlater*, Mr *Gomez*, Commiſſary of the Bread, and ſome Volunteers rode directly to the Camp, which gave ſome ſmall Alarm there, about Twelve at Night. I being unwilling to be beat out of my Quarters by Hearſay Stories, went through the

---

others ſhorter, and hath a neat Kirk. It is noted for the Ruins of one of the moſt ſtately Cathedral Churches in *Scotland* : moſt of the Ends and ſome of the Side Walls are ſtill ſtanding, and many noble Pillars, which ſhews its former Greatneſs.

Town

Town to ſee what Soldiers I could muſter, to make a Defence if the Rebels came; but could only meet with ten of the *Campbells*, who quarter'd at Sir *Henry Innes's*; the Commander of them went with me to enquire into the Particulars of the Story, and we found that it was not without ſome Foundation; for two Men had made Oath of it, but did not agree in Circumſtances; on which he went to bed.

On *Monday* the 14th, the Army decamp'd early; as I was four Miles behind them, and having a wild Sort of a hilly Country to ride over I ſhould have been glad of Company; but the *Campbells* who were to wait for ſome Baggage not then come up, were not ready to march, ſo that I ſet out alone, and had not rode far before I was told, that three armed Highland Men were on the Road before me; by this, and what had been reported the Night before, it appeared that there might be ſome ſtraggling Parties of the Rebels ſculking in Corners; and as I had picked up ſeveral of them

was

was now in Danger of being ſerv'd in kind.

At this Time there was a tir'd Soldier on the Road, whom I took up behind me; we had not rode a Quarter of a Mile, when the three Highlanders, I had been told of, appeared; on which I bid the Soldier alight and make ready his Firelock; I likewiſe primed my Piſtols afreſh, and when we came cloſe up, deſired to know who they were? They told me that they were Deſerters from the Rebels, and ſhewed me their Paſs, given them by Order of his Royal Highneſs, and that they were then going to *Aberdeen*. About this Time, a great many of the Rebels deſerted, and went to his Royal Highneſs with their Arms, who ordered them Protections to go to their Places of Abode: A little farther I overtook another tir'd Soldier and as I could not carry them both being unwilling to leave them behind, I order'd them to preſs two Horſes at the firſt Houſe we came at. We overtook the

Army

Army before they were got to * *Forreſs*, which is eight Miles diſtant from *Elgin*; here is good Road over an hilly Country, from whence we had a Proſpect of the Sea and the Ships in *Findorn* Harbour, a ſmall Sea-Port, four Miles diſtance from *Forreſs*.

When he had marched about a Mile of the Road, we were obliged to ford a

* This Borough of *Forreſs*, is pleaſantly ſituated at the End of ſeveral Ridges of Mountains, and is made up of one long Street, with a Kirk, Tolbooth, and the Ruins of an old Caſtle, which it's ſaid, the Kings of *Scotland* uſed to reſide in: Juſt before we enter'd this Town on the Right Hand, we were preſented with an Obelisk, a flat ſquare Pillar of Stone, which riſes about 23 Foot above Ground, and is ſaid to be no leſs than 12 or 14 Foot below, and its Breadth near five: it is all one entire Stone; great Variety of Figures are carved thereon, ſome of which are diſtinct and viſible, but the Injury of the Weather has obſcured thoſe towards the Upper Part; What the Import or Signification of it is, I could not be informed: *Camden* ſays, it was erected as a Monument of the Fight between King *Malcolm*, Son of *Keneth*, and *Sueno* the *Dane*. From *Forreſs* to *Nairn* is eight Miles.

broad and deep River, that diſembogues itſelf into the Sea at *Findorn*, and therefore is called *Findorn*-River : I ſaw, in croſſing here, an Officer's Horſe with Baggage carried down the Stream In this River a great Salmon-Fiſhery is carried on.

From this to *Nairn* is a very Mooriſh Country ; to the Left of which, we perceived a Body of the Rebels at a Mile Diſtant, on which we drew up ; but perceiving they did not advance, we fell into marching Order until we came within half a Mile of them, and then obſerving they did not form but kept in a moving Poſture, the Duke of *Kingſton*'s Horſe, with four Companies of the *Campbells* were ordered to advance ; on this the Rebels fled, and being purſued by ſome Volunteers, we had a fine Hunting-match after them we took ſome Priſoners, of whom I had the good Fortune to get two, the one a *Fraſer*, who could ſpeak no *Engliſh*, and had not the Senſe to ſtand when ſhot at until he was cut twice in the Head ; the other was a

Montroſe

Mistress Man called *Sanders Stewart* (I heard of him in my return, that he served an Apprenticeship to a Barber there) he told me that the Rebels were 5000 the Day we crossed the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *John Drummond*, and that the *Chevalier* and the rest of his Army were then at *Inverness*: After I had got these two Fellows tied together with my Horse-Collar, they prov'd very troublesome to drive, and I had above two Miles over a Moor to go with them to our Army, who were then encamped at * *Nairn*; which before I entered, I had Occasion to go through that Wing of our Army where the *Old Buffs* were pitching, and my Prisoners were condemned to various Deaths by the *Old Buffs*'s Wives. I delivered my Prisoner to the Guard, and in the Evening went and dress'd the wounded Highlander; by this Time the Quarters were all taken up.

* *Nairn* is a Royal Borough, and an hereditary Sheriffdom of the *Campbells* of *Lorn*, and a small Sea-Port Town.

ſo that I did not go to bed the two Nights the Army lay there.

On *Tueſday* the 15th of *April*, 1746, being his Royal Highneſs the Duke's Birth-Day, the Rebels, to make a Bonfire on that Occaſion, ſet Fire to and burnt Fort *Auguſtus*; and expecting to find us merry, they marched in two Columns to attack us in our Camp, the one under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, the other under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, but they not arriving in due Time (our Men being got under Arms) they returned without making us a Viſit.

On the 16th, we marched from *Nairn*, betwixt Four and five in the Morning, with our Foot divided into three Columns, of five Battalions each; The Artillery and Baggage followed the firſt Column on the Right; our Cavalry covered the Left Wing, and compoſed the Fourth Column: After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced-Guard perceived the Rebels at ſome Diſtance

Diſtance, making a Motion towards us on the Left. This was a Point we imagined the Rebels would ſtrive to gain as we had the Sea on our Right, and the Hills on our Left; therefore this Rule was obſerved in all our March, that the Horſe covered the Left Wing. On Notice of the Rebels approach, we immediately formed; but finding they were yet a good Way off and that their whole Body did move forwards, we put ourſelves into marching Order as before, and continued it until within half a Mile of them, where we made a Stand to reconnoitre their Situation and form our Army; we have a Moraſs on our Right, which ſecured our Right Flank, the two Regiments of Dragoons covered our left in order to fall upon the Rebels Right; *Kingſton*'s Horſe were ordered to the Reſerve; four Companies of our Highlanders were on the Left with the Dragoons, the other Eight were ordered to guard the Baggage; the ten Pieces of Cannon were diſpoſed two in each of the Intervals of the firſt Line; and in this Diſpoſition we continued for about half an

Hour. As I had the Honour of being a Volunteer under his Royal Highneſs, and of Conſequence at Liberty to chuſe my own Station, I had taken Poſt in the Front of Lord *Cobham*'s Dragoons; when the Lord *Ancram* was pleaſed to ask me, If I charged there to Day? as knowing that I had at ſeveral Times before joined the Duke of *Kingſton*'s Horſe. I told his Lordſhip, That I intended to take my Chance with that Regiment to Day. His Lordſhip then wiſhed me good Succeſs. During the Time we remained in this Poſition, I obſerved a Man ſtanding by the End of a Houſe about half Way between the Rebels Army and ours, whom I ſuppoſed to be a Rebel reconnoitering us; on which I drew one of my Piſtols, and was riding off towards him; but being called back by Major *Sheban*, to know where I was going. I turn'd and told him, pointing to the Man; he deſired me to take Care how I came up to that Houſe, for as I did not know what Number of Rebels might be in it, I was in Danger of being ſhot; but as I was a Volunteer, he ſaid, he would

would not hinder me to proceed; however, he cautioned me not to go beyond it, for that I might be in Danger of being taken Priſoner. I humbly thanked him for the Care he had for me, and gallop'd off; but when I came to the Houſe, I found none there but the Man who lived in it, who appeared to be a Friend, and gave me what Information he could. Between our Lines and that Houſe I could gallop my Horſe all the Way, but the Ground forward appeared to be ſoft and marſhy: I had there a good View of the Rebels, who were formed into a Line, with *Culloden*-Houſe on their Left, and their Right extended to a Park-Wall, within which it appeared to be good hard Ground. I ſaw them cloſe to the Right, as if they intended to bring their greateſt Strength there; on which I returned to my Station, and gave an Account of what Obſervations I had made: At which Time his Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to addreſs the Officers and Soldiers who were neareſt to him (and ordered it to be publiſhed

through

through the Battalions) in the following Manner:

Gentlemen and *Fellow-Soldiers*,

" I have but little Time to addreſs " myſelf to you; but I think proper to " acquaint you, That you are inſtantly " to engage in the Defence of your " King and Country, your Religion, " your Liberties, and Properties; and " thro' the Juſtice of your Cauſe, I " make no Doubt of leading you on to " certain Victory: Stand but firm, and " your Enemies will ſoon fly before you " But if there be any a nong you, who " through Timidity, are diffident of " their Courage or Behaviour, which I " have not the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect " or any others, who through Conſci- " ence or Inclination, cannot be zealous " or alert in performing their Duty; " it is my Deſire, that all ſuch wou'd " immediately retire: And I further de- " clare, that they ſhall have my free " Pardon for ſo doing; for I had much " rather be at the Head of One Thou- " ſand brave and reſolute Men, than Ten

" Thouſand

FIRTH of MURRAY
Culloden House
Left Flank
Lt. Col. John Drummond
Glen-gary 600
Keppoch 300
Clanronald 250
Mc Leans 100
Mc Leods 100
Mc Intosh 300
Farquharsons 250
Mc Donalds 400
Lovat 500
Chisy 300
Appin 300
Lochiel 600
Athol 500
Lt. Geo. Murray
Prince Charles
Duke of Perth
The REBEL Army
The KING'S Army
Major Gen.l Bland d.
Lieu Gen.l Earl of Albemarle.
Col. Lord Ancram.
Major General Husk.
Brigadier Mordaunt.
Royal Kingston Horse
Wolfe. Ligonier. Fleming.
Sempil
Blighs.
Morass
Plan of the Battle of

" Thouſand amongſt whom there are ſome
" who, by cowardice or Misbehaviour,
" may diſpirit or diſorder the Troops,
" and ſo bring Diſhonour and Diſgrace
" on an Army under my Command."

At this Time our Army being formed, we moved to the Houſe at which I had been; near which was the Place of Action; and finding that the Moraſs on our Right was ended, which left that Flank uncovered, the Rebels outſtretching us, his Royal Highneſs immediately ordered *Pultney*'s Regiment from the Reſerve to the Right of the *Royals*, and *Kingſton*'s Horſe, with about ſixty of *Cobham*'s who had been patrolling, to cover the Right Flank, commanded by Major-General *Bland*; the Left Flank was commanded by the Lord *Ancram*; the Center by the Earl of *Albemarle*; the ſecond Line by Major-General *Husk*; the Reſerve by Brigadier *Mordaunt*: and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whoſe Direction our Army was form'd, was on the Right; and Lieutenant-General *Hawley* on the Left

Left. In this Diſpoſition, ſome Time was ſpent in ſtriving who ſhould gain the Flank; in which Interval a heavy Shower of Rain came on, which was very diſcouraging, remembering the *Falkirk* Affair; but now we had the Wind which was of ſome Comfort.

His Royal Highneſs having ſent Lord *Bury* forward, within a Hundred Paces of the Rebels, to reconnoitre ſomething that appear'd like a Battery, found it to be ſeveral old Walls; behind which the Rebels were poſted, and from whence, about One o'Clock, they began to Fire upon us with their Cannon. At this Inſtant the Weather grew fair: But their Cannon being ill ſerved, and as badly pointed, did us little or no Damage, Ours joined in Concert, which made a ſtrange Slaughter-houſe of the Rebels Battery, and began their Confuſion: They not liking that Way of fighting, came running forward in their furious wild Way on our Right, where his Royal Highneſs had placed himſelf to receive them, imagining the greateſt

Puſh

Puſh would be there They came down three ſeveral Times, within a hundred Yards of our Men, firing their Piſtols and brandiſhing their Swords; but our brave Soldiers appear'd as if they took little Notice of their Bravados. After thoſe feint Attempts, they made off, and immediately their whole firſt Line came down upon our Left, Their Right ſomewhat out-flanked *Barre*'s, Men, which was our Left; but *Bligh*'s and *Semple*'s Regiments, from the ſecond Line, gave a ſmart Fire upon thoſe that out-flanked *Barre*'s, and ſoon repulſed them: Then a Body of the Rebels threw away their Muskets, and engaged *Barre*'s Men Sword in Hand, in a noiſy, confus'd, tumultuous Manner, and preſſed ſo hard that they made a ſmall Breach in *Barre*'s firſt Line; which was in an Inſtant made up. They killed Lord *Robert Kerr*, and ſeventeen of our Men there: But the Rebels paid dear for this raſh attack for of about 500 of them who enter'd this Breach, I believe there was not a ſingle Man that eſcaped. During this, General *Hawley*, with four Companies

of

of the brave *Campbells*, had broke down the Walls of a Park-Dyke (at which Place we loſt two Captains and five private Men of that Party) through which our Dragoons paſſed under the Command of Lord *Ancram*: At the ſame Time an Officer with a Party of Lord *Mark Kerr*'s Dragoons, were ſent to diſlodge a Party of the Rebels that lay lurking under the Walls, firing at us, where three of them were killed. We loſt but one of Lord *Cobham*'s Men who was ſhot cloſe by me, at the Riſing of the Hill, where we fell upon the Right Flank of the Rebels ſecond Line, while *Kingſton*'s Horſe, who behaved well in the Action, with ſixty of *Cobham*'s Dragoons, wheel'd on their Left, being led by Major-General *Bland*; then we ſoon knocked off many of their Bonnets; at the Sight of which, their Mock Prince wheel'd off and fled, and his Clans followed him; ſo that he had then the honour of being in the Front, which he led on with ſo much Courage, that he croſſed the River at the neareſt Place, to the Hazard of drowning, and never ſtop'd

nor

nor look'd behind him until he got to *Aird*, Lord *Lovat's* Houſe; where he ſtaid all Night. His Royal Highneſs gave Orders for Lord *Aucram* to purſue with the Horſe, and there was much knapping of Noddles; which he did with ſo good Effect, that above 500 were killed in the Purſuit, and a great many Officers and Soldiers were taken Priſoners. In their Flight I came up with a pretty young Highlander, who call'd out to me Hold your Hand, I'm a *Campbell*. On which I asked him, where's your Bonnet? He reply'd, Somebody hath ſnatch'd it off my Head. I only mention this to ſhew how we diſtinguiſhed our loyal Clans from the Rebels; they being dreſs'd and equip'd all in one Way, except the Bonnet; ours having a Red or Yellow Croſs of Cloath or Ribbon; theirs a White Cockade: He having neither of theſe Diſtinctions, I deſired him, if he was a *Campbell*, to follow me, and I would have him taken Care of being ſlightly wounded which he promiſed; but on the firſt Opportunity gave me the Slip.

This Day's Action was crowned with a moſt glorious Victory; which I think would have been more compleat, had their Mock Prince, with all his Clans, engaged us: It alſo would have ſaved the Trouble of much hanging afterwards, and of Conſequence been a Loſs to the Hempen-Manufacture; for as there were but two of our Foot Regiments on the Left of our Front-Lines engaged, all the Reſt of the Officers and Soldiers had very little Share in the Action, who deſir'd nothing more than a general Engagement, every one of them being in high Spirits, and willing to exert themſelves in their ſeveral Stations. Who could do otherwiſe, when animated by the Preſence of ſo brave a Commander? that ordered all the Diſpoſitions, perhaps, as juſt as the mind of Man could conceive; whilſt the Rebels minded very little Order or Diſcipline, throwing down their Firelocks, and engaging with their Broad-Swords, in a wild, confus'd Manner, againſt our Soldiers Bayonet, who were alſo ſupported by a quick and well-timed Fire playing upon thoſe giddy Rebels. In the

the End our Firelock and Bayonet, ſo far exceeded their Broad-Sword and Target, that there were killed of the Rebels that Day in the Field of Battle, and in the Purſuit, above 2000, whilſt our Loſs in the whole did not exceed 50 killed. We likewiſe took all their Artillery and Baggage, conſiſting of 22 Pieces of Cannon, and 8 Swivels, 190 Broad-Swords, 2500 Muskets, 1500 Musket-Cartridges, 1019 Cannon-Shot, 500 Weight of Musket-Shot, 27 Barrels of Gunpowder, with 22 Ammunition Carts, &c. We alſo took 350 Priſoners; but if we had known that they had receiv'd ſtrict Orders before the Battle to give the Duke's Troops no Quarter, we ſhould not have troubled ourſelves with making ſo many Priſoners.

The Priſoner of the greateſt Note taken that Day, was the unhappy Lord *Kilmarnock*. Four of their principal Ladies alſo fell into our Hands, *viz.* Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Gordon*, Lady *Kinloch*, and Lady *Mackintoſh*, who was the Head of the Clan of that

Name. The Ladies, after Tea, were preparing to dreſs for a Ball in the Evening, expecting the Rebels had gain'd the Victory; but the King's Red-Coats were ſo rude as to interrupt them and lead them up a Dance they did not expect.

The Rebels had order'd the Inhabitants of *Inverneſs* to provide all the Oatmeal they could ſpare, and with it bake Bannocks for their Suppers, againſt their Return from their Victory; but their Diſappointment was very pleaſing to us, who came to eat it in their Stead; many of them having loſt their Stomachs, and gone to bed Supperleſs: After the Purſuit was moſtly over, and we were on our March to *Inverneſs*, Major General *Bland* receiv'd a Letter from a *French* Officer to this Effect.

Inver-

Inverneſs, April, 16, 1746.

SIR,

'THE *French* Officers and Soldiers who were at *Inverneſs*, ſurrender themſelves Priſoners to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, and hope for every Thing which is to be expected from the *Engliſh* Generoſity.

Sign'd,

Cuſack,
Murphy,
Le Marquis de Giles,
Dehan,
D'Obrian,
Macdonald.

'To the Commanding Officer of the Troops under his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*.'

Tranſlation of the Parole of Honour ſign'd by the Officers in the French *King's Service.*

'WE the Under-written, in the 'Service of his Moſt Chriſtian 'Majeſty, acknowledge ourſelves Priſo-'ners of War of his *Britannick* Ma-'jeſty; and we engage ourſelves, upon 'our Parole of Honour, not to go out 'of the Town of *Inverneſs*, without a 'Permiſſion from his Royal Highneſs 'the Duke of *Cumberland* In Witneſs 'whereof we have ſign'd this, and have 'hereunto ſet the Seal of our Arms.

Done at the Head Quarters at Inverneſs, *the* 17*th of* April, 1746.

☞ *The above was ſign'd by about forty of the principal Officers.*

A Copy

A Copy of the Rebels Orders before the Battle of Culloden, *found in the Pocket of one of the Priſoners.*

PAROLE. ROY JAQUES.

'IT is his Royal Highneſs's poſitive 'Orders, that every Perſon attach 'himſelf to ſome Corps of the Army 'and remain with the Corps Night and 'Day until the Battle and Purſuit be 'finally over, and to give no Quarter to 'the Elector's Troops on any Account 'whatſoever: This regards the Foot 'as well as the Horſe. The Order of 'Battle is to be given to every General-'Officer, and every Commander of a 'Regiment or Squadron. It is requir-'ed and expected of each Individual in 'the Army, as well Officer as Soldier, 'that he keep the Poſt he ſhall be al-'lotted; and if any Man turn his Back 'to run away, the next behind ſuch 'Man is to ſhoot him. No Body, 'upon Pain of Death, is to ſtrip the

'Slain,

'Slain, or plunder, until the Battle 'is over. The Highlanders to be in 'Kilts, and no Perſon to throw away 'their Guns.'

Sign'd,

George Murray,

Lieutenant-General.



RE-

RETURN *of the Number of Officers and Men in each Battalion of the King's Army, the Day of the Battle of* Culloden.

	Field Officers	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Royal Scots,	2	5	19	28	25	401
Lieut Gen. Howard's,	2	4	10	21	14	413
Lieut. Gen. Barrel's,	2	5	13	18	10	325
Maj Gen. Wolfe's,	1	7	14	17	11	324
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's,	2	6	14	23	19	410
Brig. Gen. Price's,	2	7	14	21	11	304
Brig. Gen. Bligh's,	2	5	13	22	13	412
Maj Gen. Campbell's,	1	5	13	21	14	358
Brig. Gen Semple's,	3	5	15	20	14	420
Brig. Gen. Blakeney's,	2	4	14	24	12	300
Brig G. Cholmondeley's,	2	7	15	21	15	399
Brig Gen. Fleming's,	2	6	18	25	14	350
Col Dejean's,	2	6	15	23	19	426
Col. Conway's,	3	5	16	21	16	425
Col. Battereau's.	1	7	19	24	18	454
	29	84	222	329	225	5721

RETURN *of the* Killed *and* Wounded, *at the Battle of* Culloden, April 16, 1746.

Barrel's, Capt. Lord Robert Kerr, killed; Lieut. Col. Rich, Capt. Romers, Lieutenant Edmonson, Enſigns Campbell and Brown, wounded.

Wolfe's, Enſign Bruce, wounded.

Price's, Capt. Groſſette, killed; Capt. Simpſon, w.

Bligh's, Lieutenant Trapaud, wounded.

Dejean's, Capt. Kinneer: Lieuts. King and Lort; Enſigns Dally and Mundock, wounded.

Conway's, Capt Carter, wounded.

Loudon's, Capt. John Campbell, wounded, and ſince d.

Militia, Capt. Collin Campbell, wounded, and ſince d.

Rank

Rank and File Officers included.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	
Royal Scots,	0	4	
Lieut. Gen. Howard's,	1	2	
Lieut. Gen. Barrel's,	17	108	
Maj Gen. Wolfe's	0	1	
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's	0	0	
Brig. Price's	1	9	
Brig. Bligh's,	4	17	
Maj. Gen. Campbell's,	0	7	
Brig. Lord Semple's,	1	13	
Maj. Gen. Blakeney's,	0	0	
Brig. Cholmondley's	1	2	
Brig Fleming's,	0	6	
Col. Dejean's	14	68	
Col. Conway's,	1	5	
Col. Batterau's,	0	3	
Total	40	245	
Artillery,	0	8	Gunner.
	0	5	Men.
Lord Loudon's,	6	3	
Argyleſhire Militia,	0	1	
Kingſton's Horſe.	0	1	
Ld. Cobham's Drag.	1	0	
Ld. Mark Kerr's Drag.	3	3	
Total	50	259	
		Miſſing	1

HORSES

	Killed.	*Wounded*
Kingſton's	2	1
Cobham's,	4	5
Lord Mark Kerr's,	4	15

The

The Day after the Battle, we were amuſed with a Report that the Rebels would ſtand another Battle, having a 1000 Men a *Badenoch* who had not joined them at the Engagement; but we were afterwards informed, that on holding a Council of War, it was agreed, as they had neither Money, Arms, nor Ammunition, all of them were to ſhift for themſelves. Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd into the *Frazer*'s Country, with 900 Foot, where he got great Numbers of Cattle, and a Quantity of Oatmeal, that was deſigned for the Uſe of the Rebels: He went likewiſe to Lord *Lovat*'s Houſe, that, Neſt and Cage of unclean Birds, where much Treaſon and Rebellion had been hatch'd; he only found the Neſt for the Birds were flown, however he thought proper to purge it from all Pollutions by Fire.

The Rebels being now diſperſed all over the Highlands, and skulking in ſecret Corners, Detachments were ſent from the Duke's Army, and encamped at different Places for the greater Safety of the

the Country, and Conveniency of apprehending the Rebels, of which they ſent in great Numbers; ſo that all the Goals were ſoon full of Priſoners, notwithſtanding the great Number that was ſhipp'd off for *Newcaſtle*. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* was pleaſed to give his Protection to as many as returned to their Obedience, by coming in and delivering up their Arms; who were at Liberty to go to their Places of Abode.

I will next proceed to give an Account of another memorable Defeat, which, on the 15th, one of their Chiefs, the Earl of *Cromartie*, receiv'd by ſome of the loyal Clans. Vengeance being pronounced againſt Lord *Ray* and his People, on account of the *Hazard* Sloop, already taken Notice of; the Earl of *Cromartie* was ſent with a Detachment to deſtroy his Country with Fire and Sword; but he was himſelf ſurpriz'd and made Priſoner at *Dun-Robin* Caſtle, in the Manner following: After Lord *Ray*'s People had ſurprized the Crew of the *Hazard* Sloop, and was reinforced by ſome of the

the *Monroes*, and the Lord *Sutherland*'s Militia, they engaged the Earl of *Golſpy*, and took him and his Son the Lord *Macleod*, &c. Priſoners.

Enſign *John Mackay*, of the Earl of *Sutherland*'s Militia, having kept a private Intelligence with ſome Perſon in his Lordſhip's Houſe at *Dun-Robin*, who gave me an Account of their ſetting out for the intended Deſtruction: *Mackay* informed the loyal Clans thereof, who toward off this threatened Blow, aſſembled and poſted themſelves in private Places; the Rebels purſuing their Deſign, paſt them undiſcovered, and was followed by the Earl and ſome other Chiefs. *Mackay* having received the proper Signal from the Top of the Tower of that Houſe, ran with 26 Men down to the Water of *Golſpy*; as the Body of the Rebels, conſiſting of about 400, had marched ſome Diſtance before Lord *Cromartie*, &c. *Mackay* with his Men got betwixt the Officers and the main Body, and by firing briskly on them, drove the Officers to *Dun-Robin*; who

ſecured the Gates, and by ringing a Bell on the Tower, and diſplaying a white Flag, gave the Alarm to their Men to return to their Relief. In the mean Time *Mackay* having diſpatched five Men to call the loyal Clans from their different Stations to his Aſſiſtance, fell upon the Rebels in their Return to *Dun-Robin*, who perceiving the Militia coming down from the Hills in ſuch Numbers, and deſpairing of Succeſs, directly made the beſt of their Way to the little Ferry; but Lord *Sutherland*'s Men purſued them ſo cloſe, that by drowning and firing, they killed about fifty of them, and took 164 Priſoners; after which they returned to *Dun-Robin*, where *Mackay* directly asked Leave to ſpeak to the Earl of *Cromartie*; which being granted, he told him plainly, That if he did not ſurrender the Houſe, the Numbers that were without would blow it up Lord *Cromartie* asked half an Hour to conſider of it; but on finding that his Men were moſtly kill'd or taken and that it was impoſſible for him and his ſmall Party to hold out, the Gate

was

was opened, and Lord *Sutherland*'s Men took Poſſeſſion of the Houſe, diſarmed and made Priſoners the Earl and thoſe with him, and immediately ſent a Letter of Advice to Capt. *Dove* of the *Hound* Man of War, who received all the Priſoners, and brought them to the Camp at *Inverneſs*.

Liſt of the Names of the principal Priſoners taken in Sutherland, *on* April 15, *who were embark'd on board his Majeſty's Sloop the* Hound, *Capt.* Dove.

The Earl of *Cromartie*.
Lord *Macleod*, Son to the E. of *Cromartie*
Lieut. Col. *Kendal*, in the *Spaniſh* Service.
Capt *Mackenzie*, Brother to *Balion*.
Capt. *Roderick Mackuloch*, of *Glaſſiſh*.
Lt. *Alex Mackenzie*, B. to *Dundonald*
Lt *Alex. Mackenzie*, of *Corry*.
George St. Clair of *Gees*.
Hector Campbell of *Caithneſs*.
Hector Mackenzie.
Lt *James Macrac*, in the *Spaniſh* Service; and 153 private Men.

Thus I have given a juſt impartial, and, I hope a ſatisfactory Account of the Rebellion, from its firſt Riſe, until the deciſive Battle at *Culloden* Moor: After which, our Foot encamped near *Inverneſs*, and the Horſe quartered in the Town and adjacent Villages, which we found generally very ill provided; the Rebel Army being there ſo long, had occaſioned a Conſumption of the Victuals; neither was there any Drink to be had but Water; that in the River *Neſs* coming off a Brimſtone Mineral, and not agreeing with thoſe that are not accuſtomed to it, threw many of our Men into a Flux: Whereupon Proclamation was made for any that had Malt to get it brewed; but at that Time there was none to be found, neither were there any Markets; but it was not long before there was an Alteration for the better; the Weekly Markets being now ſupplyed with Fleſh, freſh or ſalted in the Hide of the Beaſt, and extream bad Goats-Milk-Cheeſe. Here you may have Butter of ſeveral Colours, which is brought to the Market in the Membranes

that

that hold the Calves: Further in the Country, when Cow-cleaning is ſcarce, they have an artful Way of making it up in Rolls or Balls, bound in Straw-Ropes: For the Quality it is ſalted up in little Diſhes that hold about two or three Pounds; if freſh it is entirely ſo, and called ſweet Butter then the Salt is brought with it to the Table, where you may ſeaſon it to your Palate; you may likewiſe have freſh Hung-Beef; for it is cuſtomary in the Highlands when the Cattle die to hang the Hinder-Quarters, (I cannot ſay in the Chimney, becauſe there is none) in the Smoak near the Fire, without Salt. As the Weather became more warm, it brought ſtill greater Plenty; for you might ſee the Highland-men coming over the Hills with Milk of ſeveral Sorts, as Sheep, Goats, Cows, &c which they carry on their Backs in a Goat-Skin, with the Hinder-Feet over each Shoulder, held in their Hands and a ſmall Wooden Piggen, that floats in the Milk, with which they meaſure it out to their Cuſtomers. The nicer of them has a more ingenious

Way of carrying the Goat-Skin, by the two Fore Legs; and as there is naturally a Hole at the other End, in which they affix a Tap, it is followed by a *Caudy*, *i e* a Boy with his Piggen, who draws the Milk off as Occaſion requires.

I ſhall only a preſent mention one other Piece of their Ingenuity; which is, that they can boil a Quarter of Fleſh, whether Mutton, Veal, Goat or Deer, in the Paunch of the Beaſt, which is preparing by cutting it open and turning it in-ſide out; by this Method it is made clean; then they affix it with Scuers on a Hoop; to this they tie a String or a Thong, cut from the Skin of the Beaſt, and by this Thong they hang it over the Fire.

The Highlanders have been reckoned an indolent People; although, by what I have ſaid it may appear that they are ingenious and induſtrious; for the Truth of which I appeal to any of our Military Gentlemen, who have had the Honour

to

to ſerve the Government in that Part of the World. But as theſe are Secrets that have not been known in *England* I ſhould not have divulged them without a Patent, or at leaſt ſome valuable Conſideration; and eſpecially, ſince the Rebels have failed in their Scheme of eſtabliſhing the Pretender; for had they ſucceeded, in all Probability, there would have been a Colony of thoſe *Norwegians* planted in the South, who might have taught our good Women their Way of Houſewifry, and Cookery. Our Mechanicks might likewiſe have been inſtructed in their Arts as to Building, &c. The Highland Houſes are very oddly erected, and the Inhabitants are generally their own Architects, which they perform with very few Meterials, being chiefly compoſed of Clods of Peat, Stones, Sticks, Broom or Ling. They have generally two Apartments in their Houſes (I mean the common People) by Means of a ſlight Partition; one End they lie in themſelves, having a Fire in the Middle; as to Chimnies, as I have already ſaid, they have none: There is

ſometimes

ſometimes a little Hole left open in the Top of the Houſe for the Smoaks exit; other Times it is in the End, but moſt frequently the Door performs this Office. The other Apartment is the Cow-Parlour for their Oxen, Calves, &c. and is ſeldom uſed otherwiſe, except at Weddings or Chriſtenings, when they can very readily remove the Partition, and lay Boards propt up with Butments of Clods, for a Table; which they cover with green Ruſhes or Hether Tobs, and ſtrew the Floor with the ſame.

Their Cattle are exceeding ſmall but very ſweet Meat when in good Order: A full grown Ox is not much bigger than one of our Calves of a Year old. The Smell of the Cattles Dung, which is generally very thick about the Houſe, and their Peat-Fire, I ſuppoſe, contribute not a little to keep them in Health, but not free from the Itch; which is very common here, although not regarded; for they ſeldom mind to cure it any other Way than by their Dumb Muſick (being always provided with

that

that Inſtrument) which they have a very good Knack of playing, and would be much more diverting to Strangers, if it was not for fear of being preſented with the Fiddle.

The Highlanders in all Reigns, have been remarkable for diſturbing the eſtabliſhed Government of *Scotland*, by taking up Arms on every Invaſion for the Invaders; had they been employed at ſuch Times in Defence of their Country, it would have ſhewn a noble Spirit; on the contrary, they have been the Ringleaders and chief Promoters of all Rebellions, and of bringing Ruin and Deſtruction upon the Place of their Nativity.

As I propoſed to give a particular Account of the Highlanders, what is wanting from my own Obſervations, I may venture to ſupply from ſo worthy an Author as Mr *Buchanan*, who has formerly well deſcribed them as follows.

In

In their Diet, Apparel and Houſhold Furniture, they follow the Parſimony of the Ancients; they provide their Diet by fiſhing and hunting, and boil their Fleſh, as I have already ſaid, in the Paunch or Skin of the Beaſt; While they hunt they eat it raw, after ſqueezing out the Blood; and when they bleed their Cattle, which is generally twice a Year, they with great Care preſerve the Blood, which they mix with Oat-Meal to eat, and is eſteemed by them a moſt nouriſhing Diſh. Their Drink is Meat-Broth or Whey, of which they have Plenty at their Entertainments; but moſt of them drink Water. They alſo brew Ale, which is generally drank (in the Lowlands as well as here) the ſame Day 'tis brewed. Their Bread is a Compoſition of Oats and Barley, the only Grain which their Country produces, which they likewiſe prepare after various Forms with Water ſometimes boiled, but moſtly raw; they eat a little of this in the Morning, and contenting themſelves therewith through Neceſſity, hunt, or go about their Buſineſs, without eating any more

more until Night; when they travel far from Home, they carry a Bag of Oat-Meal, and a little Diſh, with which, when they are hungry they take up ſome Water at the firſt Brook they come to, ſtir in ſome Meal with their Finger, and ſup it up; by the Help of which they can out-travel many Horſes. They delight moſt in Cloaths of ſeveral Colours, eſpecially ſtrip'd: And the Colours they are fondeſt of, are Purple and Blue. Their Anceſtors, as many of them do ſtill, made uſe of Plaids very much variegated; but now they make them rather of dark Colours, more like the Crops of Heath, that they may not be diſcovered while they lie in Heaths waiting for Game. Being rather wrapped up than covered with theſe Plaids, they endure all the Rigour of the Seaſon; and ſometimes ſleep covered all over with Snow. At Home they lie upon the Ground, having under them Fern or Heath, covered with a Sheet or Blanket, the latter laid with the Roots undermoſt, ſo that it is almoſt as ſoft as Feathers, and much more healthful;

ful; for the Quality of Heath being to draw out ſuperfluous Humours; when they lie down weary and faint upon it at Night, they riſe freſh and vigorous in the Morning. They affect this hard Way of ſleeping, and whenever they happen to come into any Place where there is better Accommodations, they pull the Covering off the Bed and lie down upon it wrapped in their Plaids, leaſt they ſhould be ſpoiled by what they call a barbarous Effeminacy. They go naked from below the knee, to the Mid-Thigh wearing a Broad-Sword, Dirk, and Piſtol at their Girdle; and a Target at their Shoulder. They are deſperate in Fight fierce in Converſation, apt to quarrel, miſchievous, and even Murders in their Paſſion. * The old *Scots* Language, call'd

* Sir *James Dalrymple*, in his Obſervation on *Cambden*'s Britannia, repreſents them thus. 'The 'Inhabitants of theſe Regions commonly called 'Highland-men, who being the unmixed Pro-'geny, of the ancient *Scots*, ſpeaks *Iriſh* or 'Earſe, and call themſelves *Albanick*, in *Braid* 'Albin, their Bodies are firmly and compactly made

call'd *Earſe*, has loſt ſo much Ground by the ſpreading of the *Engliſh* in *Scotland*

'made, with all Strong and nimble of Foot, high 'minded bred in Warlike Exerciſes being Invur-'ed to Robberies on their Neighbours,' and upon a hatred moſt deſperately forward to take revenge, many Gentlemen in the *Highlands* ſhun one anothers Company, leſt they ſhould revive a Quarrel that happen'd between their Forefathers, Perhaps three Hundred Years ago. They are alſo as warm in their Friendſhip; for if they meet with one in Amity, with their own Clan, be it in any foreign Country, they immediately contract the moſt Intimate Friendſhip: They are Divided unto Kindreds and Families which they call Clans, and are ſo united to the Cauſe of their particular Clans, that there is an Act of Parliament, that if any of a Clan does a Miſchief, the whole Clan is anſwerable for it, and they muſt either deliver up the Aggreſſor, or the firſt Man of the Clan that is apprehended Suffer for it: and the whole Clan bears Feud, or Hurt, received by any one Member of it: The *Macdonalds* are much the powerful of all the Clans. They are divided into four Claſſes, and Inhabit diſtinct Countries. The *Macdonald* of *Giengercy* dwell upon the *Lochneſs*; the *Macdonalds* of *Slate*, in *Lochaber*, and the Iſle of *Sky*; the Captain of Clan *Ronald*, and *Macdonald* of *Keppoch*, and thoſe of *Kintyre* towards *Argyleſhire*. The other Clans, Clan-*Katin*, Clan-*Cameron*, the *Maclean*'s and many other

ever ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, that 'tis now confined to the Highlands and the

---

other *Mac's*; altho' Independent one of another yet are entirely guided by the *Macdonalds*, who have been ſo powerful, as often to aſſume the Name of Kings of the *Iſles*, and one of them, in 1461, enter'd into a League with *Edward* IV of *England*, againſt the King of *Scotland*, *Robert* the firſt of the Stuarts King of *Scotland*, Married his Daughter *Margaret* to *Macdonald*, Lord of the *Iſles*; to ſecure him in his Intereſt, but all would not do: they were the common diſturbers of the Nation, till *James* the V. privately with a Body of Men took Shipping, and landed in every Clan and Iſland, and brought them in Perſon to his Obedience, making them give Hoſtages for their good Behaviour; here it will be proper juſt to take Notice of two or three Acts paſſed in the Reign of King GEORGE I. which not a little Contributed to the reforming of the *Highlands*, *viz.* (1) I *Geo. Chap.* 20. An Act for encouraging all Superiors, Vaſſals, Landlords, and Tenants, who continue Loyal to King GEORGE. (2) I *Geo. Chap.* 54. An Act enjoining, that the Perſonal Services and Attendance which was wont to be paid to the Heads of Clans and Owners of Eſtates, at the Pleaſure of ſuch Chiefs, under the Names of Perſonal Attendance, Hoſting, Hunting, Watching and Warding ſhall be for the future paid in Money annually; and the ſaid perſonal

the Iſles, where moſt of the People of Note do alſo underſtand and ſpeak *Engliſh*.

Mr *Mackey* tells us, that the Highlanders differ as much from the Lowlanders, in their Dreſs, Manner, and Language, as the *Indians* in *Mexico* do from the *Spaniards*; that the old *Scots* Language is here ſpoken in its nature

---

ſonal Service, &c. Shall be utterly annualled; This Act was farther enforced in the 11th of the ſame Reign, *Chap.* 26. on the Non-obſervance of the former by Many of the contemptuous *Highlanders*. (3.) I *Geo.* 1. *Chap.* 54. An Act for the more effectual ſecuring of the *Highlands* in *Scotland*, Which enacted, That no Perſon within the ſaid *Highlands*, ſhall uſe or bear Broad Sword or Terget, Ponyard, Wingar, or Dirk, Side Piſtol or Gun, or any Warlike Weapon in the Field, or in the Way, to, or from any Church, Market, Fair, Burial, Huntings, Meetings, &c. However not to extend to Noblemen, Officers of Juſtice or Commoners, having yearly 400l. *ſterl.* or who are otherwiſe Qualified to Vote at Elections for Parliament, allowing to every ſuch Commoner two Firelocks, two Pair of Piſtols, and two Swords, and the Magiſtrates of the Royal Burghs may keep Arms in Magazines.

Purity, and written in the genuine Characters which is more like the *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, than the *Roman*: Whereas the *Welch*, though they have perserved their Language, yet have entirely loſt their old Character, and write in the *Roman*.

April 12, Mr *Grant*, with 800 of his Followers, join'd the Duke at * *Invern ſ*, who order'd them to be quarter'd in the *Mackintoſhes* Country. At the ſame Time they dilivered up to his Royal Highneſs the Lord *Balmerino*, who after the Battle of *Dumblain* in 1715, deſerted to the Rebels at *Perth* He was then Captain *Elphingſtone*, of *Shannon*'s Regiment of Foot.

On

* *Inverneſs* or *Innerneſs*, is but a ſmall, dirty, poor Place, although the Capital of the *Highlands*, built cloſe along the Banks of the River *Neſs* from *Lochneſs*. From that River, and from *Ennor*, which, in the old *Scots* Language, ſignifies an *Harbour*, the Town and Country derives its Name. It lies in a great Hollow, which joins the *Murray Frith*. At the Key, there is a very Commodious

On the 28th, all the *French* Priſoners were ſhipp'd for *Newcaſtle*. Almoſt all the Pretender's Servants came and ſubmitted to the Duke; and as they were *French*, and had not been with him before he came to *France*, his Royal Highneſs gave them Paſſports to go home.

---

modious Harbour for ſmall Shipping; and thoſe of the largeſt Burthen, at a little Diſtance, may ride in Safety; and lies convenient for Trade. It is a Royal Burgh, and a Seat of the Sheriff, and of a Presbyrery, containing ten Pariſhes. It ſtands on the South ſide of the *Neſs*, over which is a Bridge of hewn Stone, with ſeven Arches, in the Butment of one of which is a Goal, or Place of Confinement, with an Iron Trap Door going down into it. It has two tolerable good Streets, and two Churches, one for the *Engliſh*, and the other for the *Iriſh*, or what they call *Earſe*; for in this Town, both Languages are ſpoken indifferently among the Rich as well as the Poor. Near to the Bridge, upon a Pleaſant Hill, are the Ruins of a Caſtle, which was formerly the Reſidence of the Kings of *Scotland* and from whence there is a fine Proſpect of the Town, the Ships in the Harbour, and of the adjacent Countries. The Duke of *Gordon* was hereditary Conſtable both of the Caſtle and of its Superiorities. It has of late been rebuilt and call'd Fort *George*, which was a great

Lord *Sutherland* remained with 900 of his People in the Head of the *Fraziers* Country. Lord *Loudon*, with 1300 Men, were in the Isle of *Sky*, and ordered by his Royal Highneſs to land in the Country of the *Glenronalas*, and to march up towards Fort-*Auguſtus* It lies amongſt the Mountains half Way between *Inverneſs* and Fort-*William* which is on the Sea-Shore in the Weſt Highlands, as *Inverneſs* is on the Eaſt, and about ſixty Miles from it. Fort-*Auguſtus* is ſituated in

---

great Ornament to the Town, before the Rebels blew it up; it was not a Place of Force, but a beautiful Barrack. Their chief Engineer, who laid the Plan for blowing up this Fort, was mounted up into the Air by one of the Blaſts, and killed, whoſe Dog far'd better then his Maſter, for although he was alſo blown up at the ſame Time, a great Height, and thrown near to the other ſide of the River, yet lived, but was ſadly lamed. The Manufacture here is chiefly Linen and Plaids This Town, above all others in *Scotland*, is noted for handſome Women. They are generally of a fair Complexion; reddiſh Hair is alſo common among them; many of them are taught Muſick (as the Spinet) and Dancing: They alſo ſpeak the beſt *Engliſh* here of any Place in *Scotland*, which

in a Valley at the Head of *Loclmeſs*; it was a fine old Building about 200 Yards Diſtance. On a more riſing Ground is another large Building, which is called the old Barracks, both which were burnt by the Rebels. The Town of *Killwhimen*, conſiſts only of a few Earthern miſerable Huts, thatched with Heath or Heather and is ſituated juſt by the old Barracks.

---

which 'tis thought they formerly learnt from *Oliver Cromwell's* Forces, who a long Time garriſon'd here in a large Pentagon Fort, built by him cloſe to the Entrance of the River *Nſs*, but is now entirely in Ruins, nothing remaining but Earthen Banks, or Baſtians and Ditches. Here I had very good Quarters at a Jacobite Nonjuring Miniſter's. Setting aſide their Principles, both Wife and Landlord were very agreeable People; on Enquiry, I was informed by the Miniſter of the eſtabliſhed Church, that during the Time that Town had been poſſeſs'd by the Rebels, Mr *Hayes* who was my Landlord, had made it his conſtant Practice to go about amongſt the Rebel Officers, making Intereſt for his Neighbours that were well affected to the Government; which was now returned at their Requeſt; for I protected him from any Injury he might have received from our Soldiers, when they came in as uſual on ſuch Occaſions with

Barracks. Fort-*Auguſtus* is ſince rebuilt, and is now a very ſtrong Fortreſs having moſt commodious Barracks, and ſurrounded by two Trenches filled with Water, with Draw-Bridges, ſtrong Walls and Baſtions. In coming to which, from *Inverneſs*, you travel along the Banks of the River *Neſs*, four *Scots* Miles (which are generally very long) till you come to the *Lochneſs*, from whence the River runs and diſcharges itſelf into the *Murray-Frith* at *Inverneſs*. In this River is a great Fiſhery, in which they catch vaſt Quantities of Salmon.

Lochneſs is a moſt remarkable and beautiful *Loch*, 24 Miles long, and two broad;

---

with Pretence to ſearch for Arms. I gave them for Anſwer (being well aſſured) that there were no Arms there but what belong'd to me; and as 'twas my Quarters, would not ſuffer it to be abus'd: which they always took as a ſatisfactory Anſwer and went off; ſo that my Landlord ſuffered no Damage. I have heard ſince that he has conformed. This Town is pretty well attached to the Government, perhaps from the good Example (or ſome of the Breed) of *Oliver Cromwell's* Soldiers.

on

on each Side of this *Loch* is a Ridge of moſt terrible barren woody Mountains; you travel along the Banks, which makes the Foot of theſe Mountains for about 12 Miles, and through a Road made with the greateſt Difficulty, by blowing up very large Rocks, which in many Places hang declining over Paſſengers, and highier than Houſes, ſo that 'tis frightful to paſs by them; you then come to a poor ſmall Houſe of Entertainment (yet the only one on the Road) called the General's Hut, from General *Wade*, who once lived there when he commanded the Forces in making thoſe ſurprizing and uſeful Roads through the Highlands of *Scotland*: Before you come to this Place on the other Side of the *Loch*, are the Ruins of the famous Caſtle of *Urquhart*, conſiſting of ſeven great Towers, ſaid to be built by the *Cummings* and overthrown by King *Edward*: About four Miles to the Weſt ward of which Caſtle, on the Top of a very high Hill two Miles perpendicular, is a Lake of cold freſh Water, about 30 Fathom in Length, and 6 in Breadth no Stream

runing

running to it or from it; its Depth could never yet be fathomed, and at all Seasons of the Year it is equally full, and never freezes: A little Way after you leave this Hut, you are presented on your Right with a most remarkable Cataract, or Fall of Water, more than 20 Yards high; it being a Small River obstructed by vast Rocks on the Edge of a Mountain, from whence it falls into the *Loch* at the Foot of this Mountain; here the Mountains, and Rocks that inviron this *Loch* are inaccessible: You leave it on your right and travel over continued barren Mountains, and see *Lochness* no more till you come to Fort-*Augustus*; from whence to Fort-*William* is 30 Miles, quite in a Valley, as it is from *Inverness* to this Place, and full of *Lochs* all the Way from Sea to Sea; East and West. This Valley is supposed to be 20 Foot lower than the Sea; and there are not above eight Miles of the Way from *Inverness* to Fort-*William* but what are either Lochs or Rivers. This Fort was erected in Honour of King *William* the Third, as the Village

is

is called *Maryborough*, in Honour of his Queen *Mary*, to curb the *Highlanders*, who upon all Revolutions uſed to be very unruly. This Garriſon overawed the Neighbouring *Highlanders*, when they armed for the Pretender in 1715. It is ſo ſituated, that if it be ever ſo much ſtraitned by a Blockade or Siege by Land, 'tis open to the Sea, and may thereby receive conſtant Supplies. The Water in *Lochneſs* is of a brown Colour, ſaid to abound much with Sulpher, and is the lighteſt Water in *Scotland*; Amongſt the Natives it is accounted the beſt of Water; as is that of the River *Neſs* at *Inverneſs*, which never freezes; the Soldiers complained of its giving them the Flux, as already taken Notice of. Upon *Lochneſs* is built a very handſome Sloop, which ſerves the Garriſon with Neceſſaries from *Inverneſs*, and at this Time was of great Uſe in bringing up Forage and Proviſions for the Army &c. and carrying the Sick from hence to *Inverneſs*, of which there were but too great Plenty, after the exceſſive fatiguing Marches, inclement Weather,

and

and now invironed with black barren Mountains covered with Snow, and Steams of Water rolling down them; the Sight of which is ſufficient to give a well-bred Dog the Vapours, and occaſioned Numbers to fall ſick daily, as well in their Minds as Bodies. This might have been ſtill worſe, had it not been for the Duke's Preſence which afforded Pleaſure to every Soldier as often as they beheld him; and to divert their Melancholy, his Royal Highneſs and Officers frequently gave Money to be run for by Highland Horſes, ſometimes without Saddles or Bridles; both Men and Women riding: Here were alſo many Foot-Races, perform'd by both Sexes, which afforded many Droll Scenes. It was neceſſary to entertain Life in this Manner, otherwiſe the People were in Danger of being affected with hypocondrical Melancholy. At this Time moſt of the Soldiers had Horſes, which they bought and ſold with one another at a low Price, and on which they rode about, neglecting their Duty; which made it neceſſary to publiſh an Order to part with

with them, otherwiſe they were all to be ſhot. I ſaw a Soldier riding on one of theſe Horſes, when being met by a Comrade, he asked him, Tom, *What haſt thou given for the Galloway? Tom* anſwered, *Half-a-Crown.* To which the other replied, with an Oath, *He is too dear; I ſaw a better bought for Eighteen-Pence.* Notwithſtanding the low Price, the vaſt Quantities of Cattle ſuch as Oxen, Horſes Sheep and Goats, taken from the Rebels, and bought up by the Lump, by the Jockies and Farmers from *Yorkſhire* and the South of *Scotland* came to a great deal of Money; all which was divided amongſt the Men that brought them in; who were ſent out in Parties, in Search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to Rebels Houſes that had left them, and would not be reduced to Obedience: Theſe Sort our Soldiers commonly plunder'd and burnt, ſo that many of them grew rich by their Share of Spoil.

Many of the Rebels, after their Defeat at *Culloden*, diſperſed themſelves o-

ver the Country, and retired to their reſpective Homes, ſtill keeping their Arms, without giving the leaſt Marks of quitting their traiterous Diſpoſition, although the Duke's Clemency in granting Protections to thoſe who brought in their Arms (which a great many did) might have induced thoſe harden'd Wretches to deſiſt.

His Royal Highneſs iſſued out a Proclamation, requiring all Magiſtrates and Officers of the Law, to make Search for and commit ſuch Perſons when found, in order for Trial; to ſeize and ſecure their Arms; and to take Informations from the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church of *Scotland*, touching the Behaviour of the Inhabitants within their reſpective Pariſhes; and of the Haunts and Places of Abode of ſuch Rebels as might be lurking in their ſeveral Neighbourhoods, *&c.* Notwithſtanding the Priſoners that were ſhipp'd off from *Inverneſs*, the Priſons continued full with others that were daily ſending in. The Priſons at *Aberdeen*, *Montroſe*,

Montroſe, *Sterling*, and *Perth*, were likewiſe filled.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine*, and an *Italian*, who called himſelf *Macholl*, and ſaid he had been 30 Years in the Service of the Pretender, fled through *Roſsſhire*, endeavouring to make the Sea-Coaſt, or find a Paſſage to the Iſle of *Mull*; but their Horſes tiring, and the Marquis being in a bad State of Health, went, *April* 27, to the Seat of *William Buchannon*, Eſq; Juſtice of the Peace and ſurrender'd to him, who committed them both to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*: The Marquis was afterwards tranſmitted to the Tower of *London*, where he died. *William Murray*, Eſq; Brother to the Earl of *Dunmore*, ſurrender'd himſelf to a Juſtice of Peace in the Shire of *Mearns*. The Lord *Pitſligo*, with ſome of his Followers, lurk'd about the Coaſt of *Buchan*, in Hopes of making their Eſcape to *France*. The Miſery and Diſtreſs of the fugitive Rebels was inexpreſſible, Hundreds being found dead of their Wounds, and thro'

Hunger, at the Diſtance of twelve fourteen, or Twenty Miles from the Field of Battle. General *Campbell* marched towards *Lochaber*, in order to clear that Country of the Rebels, who were diſperſed all over it, and had begun to rob and plunder. Lord *Cobham*'s Dragoons marched to *Montroſe*, *Barvey* and *Stonehaven*. Lord *Mark Kerr*'s to *Bamff*, *Elgan*. * *Peterhead*, &c. to guard the Coaſt on the Eaſtern Shore.

The Duke of *Kingſton*'s Horſe continued in the North until the Embers of

---

Peterhead is a Market-Town and Sea Port of conſiderable Trade, on the South-Side of the Water of *Ugie*, upon the Promontory called *Buchanneſs*, about 20 Miles from *Aberdeen*, and 12 from *Old Meldrum*, which lies inland from it almoſt in a Line. Here the Pretender landed in the late Rebellion in 1715. It lies within a ſmall Iſland call'd *Calk-Inch*, i. e. *Calk Iſland*, where are two little Piers, to receive ſmall Veſſels only at High-water; but on the South Side of it is a Bay, or Road, that will contain 100 Sail of Ships, with good Riding in eight or nine Fathome, ſecured from the North and Weſt Winds by the Head, and from the Eaſterly by the Inch or Iſland.

Rebellion

Rebellion were entirely ſcattered: Then marched for *England* and quartered in the City of *Nottingham*, where the Regiment was reduced, and their Standards and Trophies ſet up in the Town-Hall, with the following Motto;

Theſe Military Standards,
Lately belonging
To the Light Horſe
Commanded
By the moſt Noble, and moſt Puiſſant Prince
EVELIN, Duke of KINGSTON,
Raiſed among the Firſt
By the County of *NOTTINGHAM*,
Out of Love to their Country,
And Loyalty to the Beſt of Kings,
In the Year 1745.
Are here dedicated,
To the perpetual Fame, and immortal Memory
Of their invincible Bravery,
In the Skirmiſh of *CLIFTON MOOR*,
The Siege of the City of *CARLISLE*,
But eſpecially, at the memorable Battle,
Fought at Culloden in the Highlands
Of *SCOTLAND*,
On the 16th Day of *April*, 1746.
Where amongſt others,
They perform'd many and glorious Exploits
In Routing, and entirely ſubduing,
The Perfidious Rebels,
Stird up, and ſupported

By the *French* King;
An implacable Enemy
Of the Proteſtant Religion
And Publick Liberty.

God ſave our ever *AUGUST* KING!
Long may the County of *NOTTINGHAM*
Flouriſh.

As I have ſteadfaſtly adhered to Truth and Juſtice, through the Whole of my Hiſtory, I beg Leave to make this general Remark: That though the Flame of Rebellion was kindled and raiſed in *Scotland* to a high Pitch, yet it is very unjuſt (as ſome ignorant People are apt) to brand the Country in general with the infamous Name of Rebels, ſince, from what I have already ſaid, it plainly appears, that there are no People better attach'd to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, than many of the *Scots*; for the Confirmation of which I refer you to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Leven*, his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner of *Scotland*.

My Lord Commiſſioner.

'THE Meeting of the venerable
'the general Aſſembly of the
'Church of *Scotland* furniſhes an Oc-
'caſion I have wiſhed for, of expreſſing
'publickly the juſt Senſe I have of the
'very ſteady and laudable Conduct of
'the Clergy of that Church through
'the whole Courſe of this moſt wicked
'unnatural, and unprovoked Rebellion.

'I owe it to them in Juſtice to teſti-
'fy, that upon all Occaſions I have re-
'ceiv'd from them Profeſſions of the
'moſt inviolable Attachments to his
'Majeſty's Perſon and Government; of
'the warmeſt Zeal for the Religion and
'Liberties of their Country; and of the
'firmeſt Perſuaſion, that theſe Bleſſings
'could not be perſerved to the Nation
'but by the Support of his Majeſty's
'Throne, and of the Succeſſion in his
'Royal Family; and in the Support of
'the Sincerity of their Profeſſions, I
'have always found them ready and
'forwards to act in their ſeveral Stations,

'in

'in all ſuch Affairs as they could be 'uſeful in, though often to their own 'great Hazard; and of this I have not 'been wanting to give due Notice from 'Time to Time to his Majeſty.

'I muſt deſire your Grace to aſſure 'the venerable, the general Aſſembly, 'of the very ſincere Acknowledgment 'I ſhall always feel for the particular 'Marks of Good Will and Affection I 'have receiv'd every where from the 'Clergy; of my Regard and Eſteem 'for their Body, and of my good Wiſhes 'for all its Members.

'I heartily wiſh Succeſs to the good 'Work you are upon for the Service of 'his Majeſty, and the true Benefit of his 'faithful Subjects. I am, my Lord 'Commiſſioner, your Graces moſt affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

I ſhall here take Notice, that when the News of the Victory at *Culloden* reached *London*; the Joy with which it was

was received, is not eaſy to be deſcribed; but it may be truly ſaid, that it was greater and more general than any Thing that has been ſeen of the ſame Nature in our Times At the ſame Time, that the middle and lower Ranks of People expreſſed their Satisfaction and ſincere Sence of the Obligations they lay under to the Duke, as the Author, under GOD, of their Safety; the ſame Spirit ſhewed itſelf in both Houſes of Parliament, where, on the 29th of *April*, 1746, Reſolutions were taken to tranſmit to his Royal Highneſs the Thanks of both Houſes; which being expreſſed in very peculiar Terms, and his Royal Highneſs's Anſwers to them being every way worthy to the Reader's Notice and Remembrance, I judged it a Duty indiſpenſable to inſert them, and they are as follows:

The Thanks of the Houſe of Peers.

'*Reſolved*, That the Thanks of this 'Houſe be given to his Royal Highneſs 'the Duke of *Cumberland*, for his great

'and

'and eminent Services performed by 'him to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms 'againſt the Rebels; and that his Royal 'Highneſs be aſſured of the juſt Senſe 'which this Houſe has, in how diſtin-'guiſhed a Manner the late Victory 'was owing to his Valour and Con-'duct, and to his indefatigable Zeal, 'Activity and Labours, in the Cauſe of 'his Royal Father, and of his Country, 'and of our ardent Wiſhes, that his 'Royal Highneſs may have the Glory 'entirely to compleat the great Work, 'which he has ſo ſucceſsfully begun and 'carried on. --- *Ordered*, That the 'Lord Chancellor tranſmit the ſame to 'his Royal Highneſs.'

Copy of his Royal Highneſs the DUKE's *Letter to the Lord Chancellor. Dated from* Inverneſs, May 7, 1746.

My Lord Chancellor.

'I Could not poſſibly have received a 'more welcome and affecting Proof 'of that diſtinguiſhed Zeal and Loyalty 'which the Houſe of Lords has conſtant-

'ly

'ly ſhewn to his Majeſty's Perſon and
'Government, than by their favourable
'Acceptance of my Endeavours for the
'Publick Service; and I deſire you will
'lay before the Houſe, my ſincere Ac-
'knowledement for the Regard they
'have ſhewn me on this Occaſion. The
'Reſolution and Firmneſs expreſſed by
'every Officer and Soldier in his Ma-
'jeſty's Army under my Command, de-
'ſerve the higheſt Commendations; but
'the Guilt and Terror of that unhappy
'infatuated Multitude, who vainly ho-
'ped by unprovoked tumultuary Arms,
'and a contemptible foreign Aſſiſtance,
'to ſhake an Eſtabliſhment founded in
'the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects,
'afforded us ſo eaſy a Victory that I
'can only expreſs my Gratitude for the
'favourable Impreſſions with which the
'News of it was received by the Houſe
'of Lords, whoſe good Opinion and
'Thanks I ſhall ever eſteem as one of the
'moſt honourable Teſtimonies and Re-
'wards that any Action of mine could
'receive I have only to add my
'Thanks to yourſelf, for the obliging

'Manner

'Manner in which you have executed 'the Commands of the Houſe of Lords, 'and for the good Wiſhes with which 'you have accompanied them, of the 'Reality of which I am firmly per-'ſuaded.

My Lord Chancellor,

Your moſt affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

The Thanks of the Commons *ran thus:*

'Reſolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That 'the Thanks of this Houſe be given to 'his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cum-'berland*, for the eminent and very im-'portant Services performed by him to 'his Majeſty and the Kingdom over the 'Rebels, particularly in the late great 'Defeat in *Scotland* by his Majeſty's 'Forces, under his Royal Highneſs's 'Command. --- *Ordered*, That the ſaid 'Thanks be tranſmitted to his Royal 'Highneſs, by Mr *Speaker*.'

Copy

Copy of his Royal Highneſs's Letter to Mr Speaker. *Dated* Inverneſs, May *the 7th*, 1746.

Mr Speaker,

'I Deſire you would acquaint the Houſe of Commons with the juſt 'Senſe I have of the Regard they have 'been pleaſed to ſhew me on this Oc-'caſion; and to aſſure them that no-'thing can be more agreeable to me than 'their Congratulation upon the Succeſs 'of his Majeſty's Arms, which is ſo au-'thentick a Teſtimonal of their ſteady 'Zeal and Loyalty for his Majeſty's 'Perſon and Government. The Eſteem 'and Approbation of my Endeavours in 'the Publick Service fill my Wiſhes, 'and it will always be my Study to de-'ſerve the Continuance of their good 'Opinion. I cannot enough extol my 'own good Fortune it being placed at 'the Head of an Army, which expreſſed 'all along the beſt Affections and the 'greateſt Ardour and crown'd all by 'the Reſolution ſhewn by every Officer

'and Soldier in the Day of Action; 'to which (under GOD) our Success 'was owing. I return you my Thanks 'for the Cordiality and Affection with 'which you have executed the Com-'mands of the House of Commons.

Mr Speaker,

Your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

Both Houses of Parliament likewise addressed the King upon this glorious and important Victory; and in the Address of the House of Commons, the concluding Paragraph ran in these Words: 'We beg Leave to assure your Majesty, 'that your faithful Commons, truly sen-'sible of the great Benefits this Nation 'has received from the eminent Courage 'and Conduct of his Royal Highness the 'DUKE upon this Occasion; are de-'sirous, and will be ready to give his 'Royal Highness such distinguishing 'Marks of Publick Gratitude as shall

'be

'be moſt agreeable to your Majeſty, 'and are juſtly due to his ſuperior 'Merit.'

His Majeſty having conſidered the Nature and Import of this Addreſs; on the 13th of *May*, ſent the Houſe of Commons a Meſſage in the ſubſequent Terms, *viz.*

GEORGE R.

'THE Deſire which is Majeſty's 'faithful Commons have expreſſed 'to ſhew ſome publick Mark of their 'Approbation of the Services performed 'by his dearly beloved Son the Duke of '*Cumberland*, towards ſuppreſſi g the 'Rebellion, and preſerving our happy 'Conſtitution in Church and State, has 'given his Majeſty the greateſt Satisfac-'tion. His Majeſty therefore is per-'ſuaded, that upon this Occaſion he 'complies with the Inclination of this 'Houſe in recommending to their Con-'ſideration, the ſettling an Additional 'Revenue upon his ſaid Son, and his

'Iſſue Male, with ſuch Proviſions as ſhall 'be judged proper.' The next Day Purſuant to his Majeſty's Meſſage of the 13th, the Commons voted (*Nem. con.*) that an Additional Revenue of 25 000 *l.* be ſettled on his Royal Highneſs *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, and on the Heirs Male of his Body, for the ſignal Services done by his Royal Highneſs to his Country; to be iſſuing and payable out of the Duties and Revenues, compoſing the Aggregate Fund. --- His Royal Highneſs had before only 15,000 *l per Ann.* payable out of the Civil Liſt.

The Work in the Highlands being moſtly over, and I having had the Pleaſure of ſeeing and lending a Hand in reducing the Enemies of my King and Country to an unwilling Obedience, had a Deſire to leave theſe Parts (ſo long harraſſed by the Highland Banditti, that it more reſembled the Habitation of Savages than the Reſidence of a civilized Society) and to return to *England*. My Horſe being wounded at the Battle of *Culloden*, and not fit for ſo long a Journey,

ney, the Adjutant-General gave me an Order to the Commiſſary, to receive another Horſe, ſo that I ſoon after turned my Back upon theſe hideous Mountains and Rocks, covered with Snow, and the noiſy Ding of the great Falls of Water, (which is the Winter Appearance) to a more agreeable Proſpect, the Weather being now pretty good, the Vallies and adjacent Hills covered with Ling or Heath, began to look beautiful. Although this Country is not very fertile, yet it produces pretty Ladies; for as a Star ſhines with the moſt Luſtre in the darkeſt Night ſo thoſe pretty *Claaonian* Comets appear the more agreeable in this recluſe Part of the World; who for erect Deportment, genteel Air, and a becoming, courteous, frank Behaviour, none can excel. It perhaps may be thought mean, and beneath the Character of a Soldier in Time of War, to regard ſuch trifling Things as Women; which I deny; they of all Things here deſerve our higheſt Regard; for whilſt we endure the Fatigue of a Winter's Campaign, it affords ſome Pleaſure to thing, that we

not only ſerve our King and Country in general, but particularly the Ladies; in protecting their Innocence, and preſerving them from all Affronts or Attempts on their Virtue, in the lawful Enjoyment of their Lovers: All this we do nor is it more than our Duty, ſeeing that the Soldier's Monitor does not forbid to reverence their ſweet and comely Graces in Chaſtity and Modeſty. This inſpires a Soldier in the Day of Battle with true Courage and Fortitude, being not only engaged in the Service of the Government, but that of the Ladies, our Miſtreſſes, or our Wifes, which are the better Part of ourſelves: He that does not act under thoſe Principles, is diveſted of that Honour due to the Dignity of a Volunteer; ſo that it may juſtly be ſaid, our whole Life is dedicated to the Service of the Ladies; and if in Return we have their Thanks with a Smile, a kind Look, their Hand, or perhaps their Heart, 'tis more than ſufficient Recompence.

The valiant Soldier who delights in Arms,
Gives up his Life t'reſiſtleſs Beauty's Charms;
In Winter Quarters, and in long Campaigns,
Bacchus and *Venus* warm his amorous Veins:
Where e'er he travels he muſt bleſs Life,
With a kind Miſtreſs, or a kinder Wife;
That while he lives, he may his Hours improve,
With charming Beauty, and the Sweets of Love.

Some Time after there was a moſt malignant kind of Sickneſs introduc'd amongſt the Army, by Brigadier *Houghton*'s Regiment coming from Sea, in Ships that had before carried Rebel Priſoners to *London*, amongſt which was the Goal Diſtemper: This Malady not only made Havock amongſt our Soldiers, but even the Towns-People of *Inverneſs* great Numbers of whom, both young and old, died daily thereof.

Detachments being ſent out from the Duke's Army (as I have already ſaid) for apprehending the Rebels, the Earl of *Cromartie*, and his Son Lord *Macleod*, Lord *Kilmarnock*, Marquis of *Tullibarden* Lord *Lovat*, Lord *Balmerino*, Lord *Moraington*, Sir *Archibald Primroſe*, Sir *John Wedderburn*, Sir *James Kinloch*, and

and ſeveral other Priſoners of Diſtinction were taken: And now I come to the laſt Head of what I propoſed, which is, to give an Account of the legal Proceedings againſt the Perſons concerned in the Rebellion. His Majeſty's Reign had hitherto been unſpotted with Blood but now the Mildneſs of the Government ſhould give Place to Juſtice. It was therefore become requiſite for the Security of the Conſtitution, reſtoring the Vigour of the Laws, and maintaing the future Tranquility of the Kingdom, to make Examples of ſuch as had diſturbed it: The Voice of the Nation demanded it; and the Legiſlate had provided that this ſhould be ſpeedily and effectually done, by paſſing an Act agreeable to the Practice of former Times, for regulating the Trials of ſuch as had been guilty of High-Treaſon. The Priſons were crowded with Offenders taken in Arms; who were to be tried purſuant to this Act; and for this Purpoſe his Majeſty iſſued a Special Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to the Judges and other proper Perſons to ſit for that Purpoſe at St. *Margaret's Hill*,

Hill, in the Borough of *Southwark*, in the County of *Surry*.

But as many of the Chiefs who were moſt guilty were not taken, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Commons in the Begginning of the Month of *May*, and Witneſſes were examined to prove the Guilt of the Perſons named therein. After it had paſſed the Commons, the like Examination of Witneſſes was had in the Houſe of Lords where the Bill was likewiſe paſſed; and on *Wedneſday* the 4th of *June* his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his Royal Aſſent to an ACT for attainting the Perſons named therein of High-Treaſon, in caſe they did not ſurrender themſelves to one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace on or before the 12th of *July* following, and ſubmit to Juſtice.

The Perſons included in this Bill were *Alexander Ereskine*, Earl of *Kelly*, who avoided the Attainder by ſurrendering himſelf; *William* (*Drummond*) Viſcount *Straith-*

Starithallan; *Alexander (Forbes)* Lord *Pitſligo*; *David Wemyſs*, Eſq; called Lord *Elcho*, eldeſt Son and Heir apparent to *James* Earl of *Wemyſs*; *James Drummond*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Lord *Strathallan*; *Simon Fraſer*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Lord *Lovat*, who ſurrendered the Day after the Time limited; *George Murrry*, Eſq; Brother to the Duke of *Athol*; *Lewis Gordon*, Eſq; Brother to the Duke of *Gordon*; *James Drummond*, called Duke of *Perth*; *James Graham*, called Viſcount of *Dundee*; *John Nairn*, called Lord *Nairn*; *David Ogilvie* called Lord *Ogilvie*; *John Drummond*, called Lord *John Drummond*, Brother to the titular Duke of *Perth*; *Robert Mercer*, Eſq; alias *Nairn* of *Aldie*; Sir *William Gordon* of *Park*; *John Murray* of *Broughton*, Eſq; taken before the Day but admitted to ſurrender notwithſtanding; *John Gordon*, the Elder, of *Glenbucket*; *Donald Cameron*, the Younger, of *Lochiel*; Dr. *Archibald Cameron*, Brother of *Lochiel*, *Lodovick Cameron* of *Tor-caſtle*; *Alexander Cameron* of *Dungallon*; *Donald Mac Donald*, the Younger, of *Clanronald*;

vald; *Donald Mac Donald* of *Lochgarie*, *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Keppoch*; *Archibald Mac Donald* of *Barrisdale*; *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Glencoe*; *Evan Mac Pherson* of *Cluny*; *Lauchlan Mac Lauchlan* of *Castle-Lauchlan*; *John Mac Kinnon* of *Mac Kinnon*; *Charles Steward* of *Ardsheil*; *G Lockhart*, eldest Son of *G Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*; *Laurence Oliphant* the Elder, of *Gask*; *Laurence Oliphant* the Younger, of *Gask*; *James Graham* the Younger, of *Airth*; *John Stewart*, called *John Roy Stewart*; *Francis Farquarson* of *Monalterye*; *Alexander Mac Gillora* of *Drumaglash*; *Lauchlan Mac Intosh*, Merchant of *Inverness*; *Malcolm Ross* of *Pitcalny*; *Alex M'Leod*; *Andrew Landsdale*, alias *Lumsaen*; *William Fidler*, Clerk in the Auditor's Office.

On *Monday* the 23d of *June*, eight of the Judges went in the usual State from *Serjeant*'s-Inn to the Hall on St. *Margaret*'s-*Hill*, *Southwark*, where they open'd the Special Commission for the Trial of the Rebel Prisoners; when a Grand Jury of

of which Sir *William Richardſon* of *Bermondſey*, Knight, was Foreman and three other Knights, and nineteen Eſquires of the County of *Surry*, were impanelled, to whom a learned Charge was given; after which they withdrew, and found Bills of Indictment for High Treaſon in levying War, againſt the Earls of *Cromartie* and *Kilmarnock*, and Lord *Balmarino*. At the ſame Time they likewiſe found Bills of the ſame Nature againſt thirty-ſeven Commoners, who had a reaſonable Time given them to prepare for their Trials.

The Houſe of Peers being informed that Bills had been found againſt the three Lords, directed that a Writ of *Certiorari* ſhould be iſſued for bringing the ſaid Indictments before them, and appointed alſo a Committee to conſider of the proper Methods for bringing the ſaid Lords to their Trials Before I proceed to the Detail of what happened in Reference to theſe Judicial Proceedings, it becomes abſolutely neceſſary to take Notice of a very extraordinary Step the *French* Court thought

thought fit to make on this Occaſion. The Reader will obſerve, that the Pretender's Son was at this Time in *Scotland*; that many of the unhappy Perſons engaged in this Rebellion had been drawn into it by Aſſurances given them, that their Cauſe would be ſupported by *France*; to keep up the Nation therefore, and thereby the Spirits of theſe deluded People, and perhaps to hinder the good Effects that might have attended that Spirit of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, which had always diſtinguiſhed his Majeſty's Adminiſtration, an Attempt was made to deter the Government from bringing thoſe People to Juſtice.

There has been various Conjectures, upon the Occaſion of thoſe Proceeding, which I'll paſs by, and only add, that 'tis moſt likely, that the *French* Court did it to ſerve their own Purpoſes, as they did every thing elſe from the Beginning of theſe Troubles.

The *French* Miniſter therefore, for Foreign Affairs, wrote a very ſtrange Letter

upon this Head, from the Camp to the *Dutch* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, beſeeching him to exert that Sort of Eloquence, for which he is famous upon this Occaſion; which he accordingly did; but the Application was received here in the Manner that might be well expected, and his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State gave the *Dutch* Miniſter ſuch an Anſwer, as ſhewed how little Impreſſion *French* Threatnings made here, and how very highly his Conduct in this Reſpect was reſented. Theſe Letters are of ſuch Conſequence in themſelves, and belong ſo immediately to this Hiſtory, that I cannot avoid inſerting them.

M. D'Argenſon's *Letter to M.* Van-Hoey.

SIR,

'THE King has ordered me to 'write to your Excellency, con-'cerning the Station of Prince *Edward* 'and his Adherents, ſince the Advantage 'gained over them by the *Engliſh* Troops

'the

'the 27th of last Month. All *Europe* 'knows the Tyes of *Parentage* which 'subsist between me and Prince *Edward* 'Moreover this young Prince is endow-'ed with all the Qualities which might 'engage those Powers to interest them-'selves in his Favour, who esteem true 'Courage; and the King of *England* is 'himself too just and impartial a Judge 'of true Merit, not to set a Value upon 'it, even in an Enemy. The Character 'of the *British* Nation in general, can-'not likewise but inspire all *Englishmen* 'with the Sentiments of Admiration, 'for a Countryman, so distinguished by 'his Talents and heroick Virtues. All 'these Reasons ought naturally to favour 'the Fate of Prince *Edward*; and at the 'same Time we may expect from the 'Moderation and Clemency of the King 'of *England*, that he will not suffer those 'Persons to be persecuted with the ut-'most Rigour, who in the Time of 'Trouble an Confusion, followed the 'Standard which was lately overthrown 'by the *British* Arms, under the Com-'mand of the Duke of *Cumberland*. Ne-

'vertheleſs, Sir, as in the firſt Motions of 'Revolution, Reſentment is ſometimes 'carried to a greater Height than in more 'peaceable Times, the King thinks pro-'per, as far as in him lies to prevent the 'dangerous Effects of any too ſevere 'Meaſures which his *Britannic* Majeſty 'might take upon this Occaſion. 'Tis 'with this juſt View, Sir, that the King 'ordered me to deſire your Excellency to 'write to the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, and to 'repreſent to it, in the ſtrongeſt Manner 'the Inconveniences which muſt infalli-'bly reſult from any violent Proceedings 'againſt Prince *Edward*. The Right 'of Nations, and the particular Intereſt 'which his Majeſty makes in reſpect to 'that Prince, are Motives that will pro-'bably make ſome Impreſſion upon the 'Court of *London*; and his Majeſty hopes 'to find none but noble and generous 'Proceedings from the King of *England* 'and the *Engliſh* Nation; and that all 'thoſe who were lately concerned in the 'Intereſt of the Houſe of *Stuart*, will 'likewiſe have Reaſon to extol the Ge-'neroſity and Clemency of his *Britannic* 'Ma-

'Majeſty. But if contrary to all Expecta-
'tions, any Attempts ſhould be made
'either with Reſpect to the Liberty of
'Prince *Edward*, or the Life of his
'Friends and Partiſans 'tis eaſy to foreſee
'that a Spirit of Animoſity and Fury
'might prove one dreadful Conſequence
'of ſuch Rigour; and how many inno-
'cent People, before the End of the
'War, may fall Victims to a Violence,
'which could only aggravate the Evil,
'and would certainly ſet no good Ex-
'ample to *Europe*. No body, Sir, is more
'capable than you are, to ſet forth theſe
'Reaſons Your Equity, and your Love
'of Peace will ſuggeſt to you what is beſt
'to ſay upon this important Subject.
'Your Excellency muſt be ſenſible, that
'there is not a Moment to be delayed in
'writing to the Miniſters of the King of
'*England*; and I hope you will do me
'the Favour to communicate to me the
'Anſwer you receive from them, that I
'may give an Account of it to the King,
'that he may take ſuch Reſolutions upon
'this, as his Majeſty ſhould think ſuitable
'to the Glory and Dignity of his Crown.

'He ſincerely wiſhes, that the King of 'England may give him none but Example of Humanity and Greatneſs of 'Soul, &c.

Camp at Bouchout, May, 26*th*, 1746.

Letter from M. Van Hoey, *to the Duke of* Newcaſtle, *in which the former was incloſed.*

My Lord,

'I Have the Honour to ſend to your 'Excellency a Letter I juſt now received from M. *D'Argenſon*, in Relation to the preſent State of the Affairs 'of the Pretender's eldeſt Son, and thoſe 'of his Adherents, ſince the Defeat they 'have met with from his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*. Your 'Excellency, will perceive thereby, how 'much that Court confides in me what 'Credit I, by my long Reſidence there, 'have gained, and how far it is inclined 'to belive that my Love of Peace and 'Equity will furniſh me with Argument

'to

'to enforce its Recommendations. I 'wiſh, my Lord, I was Maſter of the 'greateſt Eloquence upon Earth, and 'were able effectually to employ my 'whole Life to convince Mankind, that 'by doing to others as we would they 'ſhould do unto us, is the Foundation 'of the ſupreme Happineſs of States, 'Nations, Kings, their Subjects, and in 'general, of human Kind. This is a 'Duty well known by your Excellency, 'and Providence expects from you a 'Compliance, from the high Station 'with which he has bleſſed you. May 'Perſuaſion flow from your Lips like 'Honey, and every one will be convin-'ced, that we are only happy in Pro-'portion to the good we do to others. 'May you my Lord, baniſh that per-'nicious Art which Diſcord hath brought 'into the World of ſeducing Men to 'deſtroy one another. Wretched Poli-'cy! Which ſubſtitutes Revenge, Ha-'tred, Jealouſy and Avarice, to take 'Place of the Divine Precepts which 'from the Glory of Kings and Happineſs 'of the Subjects. You know, my Lord,

'that

'that Courage, by way of Excellence,
'his called Virtue, and that because it is
'founded on the Love of Happineſs,
'and directed in all its Motions by E-
'quity, Moderation and Goodneſs. True
'Heroes make their Victories become
'profitable to thoſe they conquer, and
'raiſe for themſelves immortal Trophies
'of Honour, by ſubduing Reſentment
'and Revengue. Paſſions ſo natural to
'Mankind, and ſo difficult to get the
'better off. Thus has Clemency been
'revered by wiſe Men in all Ages, as
'the moſt magnanimous, the moſt uſe-
'ful; and the moſt pious of all Royal
'Virtues. I am ſenſible, my Lord,
'that I am guilty of an Indiſcretion in
'laying before you what Wiſdom, Ex-
'perience and Religion have ſo ſtrongly
'impreſſed upon your Heart. It is not
'that I preſume to add to your Con-
'viction, but how is it poſſible to for
'bear inſiſting on a Subject which we
'love? To know Truth, and be infla-
'med with its divine Beauties, is, as
'your Excellency well knows, but one
'and the ſame Thing. May two ſo

'great

'great Kings never ceaſe to emulate, 'which ſhall be higheſt Example of 'Humanity, Clemency and Greatneſs 'of Soul. May their Love to Mankind 'increaſe and add daily to their Glory, 'and cauſe it to ſhine with greater Splen-'dour; that their Subjects in particular 'may owe their Peace, and all *Europe* 'in the Re-eſtabliſhment of its Traqui-'lity to them; that their Wiſdom may 'perpetuate their Memories, and be 'made Examples of to Poſterity to the 'lateſt Ages; may they long on Earth 'enjoy the juſt return of Human Kind, 'and more and more ſecure to them-'ſelves eternal Happineſs hereafter. I 'have the Honour to be, *&c.*

Paris, June 2, 1746.

His Grace the Duke of Newcaſtle's *An-ſwer to M.* Van-Hoey's *Letter.*

SIR,

'I Did not receive till the Day before 'Yeſterday, the Letter which your 'Excellency was pleaſed to honour me

'with

with, dated the 2d Inſtant, N. S. incloſing one which the Marquis *D'Argenſon* had wrote to you on the 26th of *May*. I laid it immediately before the King, who was in the greateſt Aſtoniſhment at the Contents of that Letter, which as well in what relates to the Subject of it, as to the Manner of treating it is ſo contrary to his Majeſty's Honour and to the Dignity of his Crown, that his Majeſty cannot but conſider himſelf as too much offended by it to make any Anſwer to it. You know, Sir, and ſo do the *French* Miniſters, with how ſcrupulous an Exactneſs his Majeſty has on his Part executed the Cartel agreed on between him and the moſt Chriſtian King, in it's utmoſt Extent, even to the releaſing on their Parole all the Officers in the *French* Service, who were made Priſoners within the Limits of theſe Kingdoms, and who were not his Majeſty's natural-born Subjects, although the Service on which they were then employed might very juſtly have excuſed his Majeſty from it. It is impoſſible, after this, to doubt

of

‘ of his Majeſty's ſincere Deſire to do
‘ every thing which the Law of Nations
‘ can require between Powers at War
‘ with each other, even beyond what is
‘ uſually practiſed: But as to what re-
‘ lates to his Majeſty's own Subjects,
‘ neither to Law of Nations, the Car-
‘ tels, nor the Practice and Example
‘ of any Country, autherize any fo-
‘ reign Power at War with his Ma-
‘ jeſty, to intrude themſelves to make
‘ any Demand from his Majeſty there-
‘ The moſt Chriſtian King knows too
‘ well himſelf the Right inherent in every
‘ Sovereign, to imagine that his Ma-
‘ jeſty can think otherwiſe. I cannot
‘ conceal from your Excellency his Ma-
‘ jeſty's Surprize, to ſee that the Am-
‘ baſſador of a Power ſo ſtrictly united
‘ with him, and eſſentially intereſted in
‘ every thing that concerns the Honour
‘ and Security of his Majeſty's Perſon
‘ and Government, could charge him-
‘ ſelf with tranſmitting to his Majeſty ſo
‘ unheard of a Demand. And I am very
‘ ſorry, Sir, to be obliged to acquaint
‘ you that his Majeſty could not avoid

‘ com-

'complaining of it to their High 'Mightineſſes the States General, your 'Maſters'

I have the Honour to be, &c.

Whitehall, June 3d, 1746.

But this was not all the Mortification that M. *Van Hoey* received; his Majeſty's Miniſter to the States General, *Robert Trevor*, Eſq; preſented a Memorial to their High Mightineſſes, in which he complained of the Indignity offered to the King his Maſter, in Terms ſuitable to the Offence. The States General readily promiſed all the Reparation and Satisfaction in their Power and accordingly ſignified to M. *Van-Hoey* the Senſe they had of his ill Conduct, in ſtronger Terms than are uſually employed by them to Perſons in his Station; and at the ſame Time ſignified their Pleaſure, that he ſhould write to the Duke of *Newcaſtle* in ſo ſubmiſſive a Stile at to atone for what was paſt; admoniſhing him likewiſe, to avoid every thing capable of giving

ing either Umbrage or Offence for the future.

To all this M. *Van-Hoey* gave a very exact Obedience, wrote a very handſome Letter to the Duke, in which he expreſſed how ſenſible he was of his Misfortune, and having by his Indiſcretion drawn upon himſelf the Diſpleature of his *Britannic* Majeſty; and has ſince that Time given ſuch Marks of the Sincerity with which he made this Submiſſion, as have procured him Thanks for his good Offices upon ſubſequent Occaſions; ſo that whatever the *French* Views were in this ſtrange Buſineſs, it is certain they were abſolutely defeated. But it is now high Time to quit this Subject, and to return to the Thread of my Narration

On *Tueſday* the 22d of *July*, the Trials of thoſe Rebels againſt whom Bills had been found at St. *Margaret's-Hall* being over, the Right Hon the Lord Chief Juſtice *Lee*, in the Preſence of Sir *Martin Wright*, Sir *Michael Foſter*, Sir *Thomas Reynolds*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr

Baron *Clive*, and other Commiſſioners, paſſed Sentence of Death upon 17 who had been found Guilty on their Trials, after having had Council allowed them. Of theſe the following Eight were reprieved, *viz Charles Deacon*, *William Pattragh*, *John Saunderſon*, *Chriſtopher Taylor*, *James Wilday*, *Thomas Furnival*, *James Gadd*, and *Alexander Abernethy*.

On *Wedneſday* the 30th of the ſame Month, the other Nine were carried on three Sledges to the Place of Execution (*Kennington Common*) and there ſuffered as is uſual in Cafes of High-Treaſon, *viz. Francis Townley*, Eſq, one of an antient Family in *Lancaſhire*, who acted as Governor at *Carliſle*; *David Morgan*, Eſq; Barriſter at Law; *George Fletcher*, *Thomas Chadwick*, *James Deacon*, *Thomas Deacon*, *John Barwick*, *Andrew Blood*, and *Thomas Sidaal*, Mr *Townley* was the only Profeſſed Papiſt among them.

The

The Houſe of Lords having upon the Petition of the Peers that were Priſoners, granted them Solicitors, and whatever was neceſſary for their Defence, addreſſed his neceſſary to appoint a Lord High Steward for their Trials. The ſame was accordingly done; and the Priſoners on the 28th of *July* were brought before the Peers, ſitting in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. The Right Hon. *Philip* Lord *Hardwich*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great-Britain* acting by his Majeſty's Commiſſion as Lord High Steward; when *Arthur* Lord *Balmerino* pleaded not guilty; upon which the King's Council opened the Indictment; called the Wieneſſes for the Crown; and the Fact being plainly proved, their Lordſhips unanimouſly found the Priſoner guilty.

On the 30th of the ſame Month, *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock*, being brought before the Houſe, made a long and moving Speech, and at the ſame Time pleaded guilty; as did *George* Earl of *Cromartie*, Then Lord *Balmerino* moved in Arreſt of Judgment, and at his

Requeſt had Council aſſigned him to argue the Point, if he thought proper. On *Friday* the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the Rebel Lords were again brought up. Lord *Balmerino* having waved the Point he had formerly inſiſted upon (being informed by his Council that it would be of no Service to him) the Lord High Steward, after addreſſing himſelf in a very elegant pathetick, and tender Speech to the Priſoners, pronounced Sentence as uſual, in Caſes of High Treaſon.

It will be expected that I ſhould give ſome Account of thoſe unhappy Noblemen, who by their Indiſcretion, in taking up Arms againſt the Government, ſubjected themſelves to the Loſs of Life, and deprieved their Families of their Titles, and Fortunes.

GEORGE Earl of *Cromartie*, was of the noble Family of the *Mackenzies*, the Chief of which was the Earl of *Seaforth*, who was in the Rebellion in 1715; his Lordſhip was the Grandſon of the firſt Earl of *Cromartie*, and this unhappy

happy Nobleman was himſelf the Second who bore that Title, his Father having never lived to enjoy it. How he came to be embarked in the Rebellion is not eaſy to be accounted for, as his Lordſhip had always warmly profeſſed the Revolution Principles, and beſides was under particular Obligations, as having received conſiderable Favours from the preſent Government. But his Lordſhip loved Company, and it ſeemes was drawn by Company to do as they did; which was attended with another Incident, the drawing his eldeſt Son the Lord *Mackleod* into the ſame Misfortune, who being taken with his Father, as I have before obſerved, was then a Priſoner with him in the Tower. His melancholy Caſe, the ſeveral Circumſtances tending to extenuate his Guilt, his ſincere Repentance the great Diſtreſs of his Family and the affecting Situation of his Counteſs, big with Child, being laid before his Majeſty, whoſe generous Diſpoſition inclines him always to ſee the Arguments for Clemency in the ſtrongeſt Light, he was graciouſly pleaſed to reprieve him;

and the other two Lords were ordered for Execution; which frees me from the Neceſſity of ſaying any thing more of him, except that he is ſaid to have expreſſed all the Duty and Gratitude towards his Majeſty which ſo high and undeſerved a Mark of Mercy ought to excite in the Mind of a Gentleman and a Chriſtian.

WILLIAM BOYD, Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and Lord *Boyd*, takes his Title of Earl from a Royal Borough of that Name, in the Shire of *Cunningham*. The firſt remarkable Man of his Family, and the firſt who aſſumed the Sirname of *Boyd*, is is ſaid by *Scotch* Genealogiſts, to be *Robert*, the Son of *Simon*, third Son of *Allan*, Lord High-Chanchellor of *Scotland* in the Year 1111, from whom the late Earl was lineally deſcended. The firſt who was created a Baron, and called to Parliament by the Name and Title of Lord *Body* of *Kilmarnock*, was one *Robert* a Man remarkable for his Abilities, both as a Soldier and Statesmen, whoſe Son *Robert*, a Nobleman of quick Wit and penetrating Judgment,

ment, was on the 25th of *October*, 1469 by Patent created *Regent* of *Scotland*, during the Minority of King *James* the Third who created his Son *Thomas*, in the Life-time of his Father, Earl of *Arran*, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Mary Stewart*, eldeſt Siſter to the King. He was ſhortly after ſent on an Embaſſy to *Denmark*, on a Treaty of Marriage between the young King, his Brother-in-law, and *Margaret*, a Daughter of that Crown, whom he eſpouſed in the Name of his Royal Maſter: But by the Practices of his Enemies againſt him, was forced afterwards to take the Opportunity of one of thoſe Ships which conveyed the Queen, and retired to *Denmark*, with his Wife, the King's Siſter; whence going to pay a Viſit to *Charles* then Duke of *Burgundy*, *Anno* 1470, he died at *Antwerp*, and was honourably interred at the Expence of that Duke, who erected a ſuperb Monument to his Memory.

After the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. *William* the then ſurviving Deſcendant

dant, a Man of Wit and Learning, remarkable for Activity in the Intereſt of that Monarch, and upon Account of his ſolid Parts was created by that Prince Earl of *Kilmarnock*. The Family having remained in a private Station, from the Time of the famous Earl of *Arran* in *James* IIId's Reign, till this Period, when they again appeared in Parliament with their ancient Luſtre.

William his Great Grandſon, the 4th and late Earl, who was confined in the Tower of *London*, was but very young when his Father died. His Father's Death leaving him too ſoon at Liberty to be his own Maſter, and the Indulgence that is generally given to young Noblemen added to the natural Sprightlineſs of his Temper, ſoon gave him an Averſion to a rigorous Study of Letters, though he had made ſome Progreſs in Claſſical Learning, and had acquired ſome tolerable Notion of Philoſophy and the Mathematicks; but there was too much of the Volatile in his Diſpoſition, to continue long at Exerciſes that required Appli-

Application: He was more happy in acquiring thoſe which are called genteel Accompliſhments; ſuch as Riding, Fencing, Dancing and ſome Muſick; in all which he excelled, and was eſteemed by Men of Taſte, a polite Gentleman.

When he came to the Eſtate, it was pretty much incumber'd, and a great Part of the old Patrimony alienated: The Earl's Diſpoſition was by no Means cut out for improving it by Parſimony; on the contrary, as his Income was infinitely ſhort of what the Generoſity, or rather the Profuſeneſs of his Diſpoſition would prompt him to ſpend, he found his Affairs daily growing worſe, and therefore thought of bettering his Circumſtances by an advantageous Match: To this Purpoſe he fixed his Eyes upon Lady *Ann Levenſton*, Daughter of *James* Earl of *Linlithgow* and *Callender*, a young Lady of conſiderable Fortune, and great Beauty. The Earl made his Addreſſes to the Lady, but her Friends, who knew the low Ebb of the Earls Fortune, refuſed their Conſent: However his Lordſhip's

ſhip's agreeable Perſon and genteel Addreſs, raiſed a Friend for him in the Lady's Boſom who married him without her Mother's Conſent.

His Lordſhip's Exceſſes added to the Charge of a Family, reduced the Eſtate ſo low, that it was not now ſufficient to ſupport them with any tolerable Decency; his Lordſhip was therefore obliged to apply to the Miniſtry for a Penſion, which he obtain'd, and has ever ſince enjoy'd it.

It does not appear to me that the Earl was in the originial Deſign of the Rebellion, for I believe it was far advanced before his Lordſhip ſo much as thought of joining them. But his Lady happening to be at *Edinburgh* when the young Pretender enter'd that City, ſhe was charmed with the Gaiety of his military Court, and the Affability with which he treated her and all the Ladies: The Counteſs is naturally of a very gay Diſpoſition, fond of Publick Diverſions, and generally the Firſt at all Parties of Pleaſure; and finding herſelf

herſelf more than uſually careſs'd by a Perſon who perſonated Sovereignty, which flattered her Vanity and puffed up her Ambition; ſhe was ſoon converted to the *Jacobite* Faith, and her Lord had not Reſolution enough to withſtand her Solicitations, eſpecially after the Battle of *Preſton-Pans*; which elevated the *Jacobites* to ſuch a Degree, that they eſteemed it Madneſs and Infatuation in every Body who did not immediately join their Standard: Among the reſt the Earl of *Kilmarnock* joined them, and was received by the young Chevalier with Marks of great Eſteem and Diſtinction; declared of the Privy Council, made Colonel of his Guards, and promoted to the Degree of a General,

ARTHUR ELPINGSTON, Lord *Balmerino*, is of a Name very antient, tho' not very numerous in *Scotland*, but cannot be number'd as of a potent Clan, tho' it has abounded with Men of Figure and Note in that Country, as much as any other Name whatſoever. They are ſaid to come from *Germany*

Germany, and that the Firſt who appeared of the Name, married, in the Days of *Robert*, the Firſt of *Scotland*, *Margaret*, Daughter to Sir *Chriſtopher Seaton* of *Seaton*, by his Wife, the Lady *Chriſtian*, Siſter to King *Robert*, who beſtowed on him ſeveral Lands in *Mid-Lothian*, the Revenue of which was ſufficient to ſupport his Dignity) eſpecially in thoſe Times, when Luxury and extravagant Expences were none of the modiſh Accompliſhments of a fine Gentleman, however highly born. Theſe Lands Mr *Elphingſton* called after his own Name, which they ſtill bear, and is the chief Seat and gives the Title of Lord to the Lord *Elphingſton*, Chief of the Family we are now treating of

In the Reign of King *James* the Firſt, a ſecond Son of the Lord *Elphingſton*, by the Intereſt of his Father with that King was created a Baron, by the Name and Title of Lord *Balmerino*. *John* the 4th Lord of that Name, his Great Grandſon and Father of the late unfortunate Nobleman, was in the Reign of Queen *Ann* made

made General of the Mint, and Sheriff of the County of *Edinburgh*; and in 1713. was elected one of the Sixteen Peers to repreſent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*. *James* his younger Son, by his firſt Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Eglington*, and half Brother to the late Lord, while he had no Proſpect of the Eſtate of *Balmerino*, was bred to the Law, where he made a conſiderable Figure at the Bar. as an Advocate, had a large Share of Employment, was eſteemed an honeſt and able Counſellor, and was liſten'd to with great Attention by the Bench

His remarkable Abilities, accompanied with a great Sedateneſs, ſoon recommended him to a Seat on the Bench, where he diſcharged that high and important Truſt with great Honour and ſtrict Integrity He was eſteemed an able and juſt Judge, always avoided mixing Party Spirit with the Bench.

This worthy Lord died about a Year before the Rebellion broke out, but left no Iſſue. He was ſucceeded by *Arthur* the late Earl, the Son of *John*, the fourth Lord *Balmerino*, by his ſecond Wife, Daughter of *Arthur Roſs*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*.

His Lordſhip, in Queen *Ann*'s Time was in the Service; had a Company of Foot; at the Head of which he fought, under the Duke of *Argyle*, at the Battle of *Dumblain*; but afterwards joined the Earl of *Marr*; he was pardoned at the Interceſſion of his Father, and lived privately in *Scotland*, until the breaking out of the laſt Rebellion.

On the 18th of *Auguſt* 1746, about Eight in the Morning, the Sheriffs, *Blackford* and *Cockayne* went to the Tower to receive thoſe unfotunate Noblemen, the Earl of *Kilmarnock* and the Lord *Balmerino*; about Ten they were brought out and conducted to a Houſe prepared for their Reception, where the Earl, who was called to ſuffer firſt, ſpent about

about an Hour in his Devotion with Mr *Foſter* : he appeared upon the Scaffold dreſſed in Black, with a very Serene Countenance; was remarkably penitent and owned the great Guilt of the Rebellion; declared his Satisfaction with the Regality of King *George's* Title to the Crown, and as he had promiſed, when he firſt begg'd for Mercy, he pray'd for our lawful Sovereign with his laſt Breath gave the Executioner five Guineas; prepared himſelf for Death with great Compoſure of Mind; and after the Signal, his Head was ſever'd from his Body at one ſingle Stroke; but the Executioner was ſo much affected that he ſhed Tears. The Earl died in the 42d Year of his Age. When the Under Sheriff came to call Lord *Balmerino*, he ask'd, whether it was over with the Earl of *Kilmarnock?* and being told that it was, he deſired to know how the Executioner perform'd his Office; and when he was inform'd, ſaid it was well done. In addreſſing himſelf to the Company, he ſaid, Gentlemen, I ſhall detain you no longer; and ſeemingly with an eaſy Chearfulneſs,

ſaluted his Friends, and haſtened to the Scaffold which he mounted with ſo willing an Air; that it greatly aſtoniſhed the Spectators. As his Lordſhip lived in the Acts of Treaſon and Rebellion, ſo he died in the Aggravation of his Crime, having the Inſolence to wear the ſame Regimentals to the Scaffold that he wore at the Battle of *Culloden*; no Action in his Deportment ſhewed the leaſt Sign of Fear; he walked ſeveral Times round the Scaffold, bowed to the People, went to his Coffin, read the Inſcription, and with a Nod, ſaid, it is right. His Lordſhip putting on his Spectacles, and taking a Paper out of his Pocket, read it with an audable Voice, in which he mentioned his Majeſty King *George*, as a Prince of the greateſt Magnanimity and Mercy. Having dilivered this Paper to the Sheriff, he then examined the Block; and calling for the Executioner, who appearing, and being about to ask his Lordſhip's Pardon, he ſaid *Friend you need not ask me Forgiveneſs, the Execution of your Duty is commendable.* Upon which his Lordſhip gave him three Guineas,

Guineas, ſaying, I never was rich this is all the Money I have now; I wiſh it were more; and pulling off his Cloaths, which he likewiſe gave him, he put on a Flannel Waiſtcoat, and then taking his Plad Cap out of his Pocket, put it on his Head, ſaying, he died a *Scotchman*; after ſhewing the Executioner the Signal for the Stroke, clapped him on the Back and encouraged him to do his Work like a Man; and then kneeling down to the Block, gave the Signal ſo unexpectedly, that the Executioner was in Confuſion, and could not perform his Office under three Blows: His Lordſhip was in the 58th Year of his Age. The Execution being thus over, the Body was, carried back to the Tower and together with that of the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, depoſited in St. *Peter's* Church, in the ſame Vault where that of the Marqueſs of *Tullibardin* lies.

On the 22d of the ſame Month three Rebel Officers, *Mac Donald*, *Nicholſon* and *Ogilby* were executed at *Kennington-*

Common: and on the 23d the Commiſſioners at St *Margaret's Hill* reſumed their Seſſions, and Bills were found again 32 Perſons, as alſo againſt Lord *Macleod*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Cromartie*, and *John Murray* Eſq; of *Broughton* the Pretender's Secretary, who were not brought up, as being intended to experience his Majeſty's Mercy. The greateſt Part of theſe unfortunate People were found guilty; and, that I may finiſh this Subject at once, I ſhall obſerve, that on *Friday* the 28th of *November*, Sir *John Weadderburn*, Bart. *John Hamilton*, Eſq; *James Bradſhaw*, *Andrew Wood* and *Alexander Leith*, were Executed; Col. *Farquharſon* and *Thomas Watſon* being reprieved in the Morning, and *James Lindſay* juſt as he was going into the Sledge. This was the laſt Execution in the Neighbourhood of *London*, of ſuch as were condemned by the King's Commiſſions in *Southwark*.

As for the Rebels that were Priſoners in the North, they were tried partly at *Carliſle*, and partly at *York*, the Aſſizes being

being opened at the firſt-mentioned City on the 12th of *Auguſt*, before the Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, Mr Juſtice *Burnet*, Mr Juſtice *Denniſon*, and Mr Baron *Clark*, and continued by proper Adjournments (that of the 9th of *September* being after they returned from *York*) to the 26th of the ſame Month, when the whole of their Buſineſs was finiſhed there and Ninety-one received Sentence of Death, Twenty-ſix were acquitted, and Twenty-nine diſcharged, no Bills being found againſt them. On *Saturday* the 18th of *October* were executed at *Carliſle*, *Thomas Cappoch* a Clergyman, *John Henderſon*, *John M'Naughton*, *Jas. Brand*, *Daniel M'Daniel* of *Kenloch Moidart*, *Daniel M'Daniel* of *Taran Ruſh*, *Francis Buchanan* of *Araprior*, *Hugh Cameron* and *Edward Roper*. And on *Tueſday* the 21ſt were executed at *Brampton*, near *Carliſle*, *Peter Taylor*, *Michael Delaird*, *James Forbes*, *Rich. Morriſon*, *Alexander Hutchinſon*, *James Innis*, *Donald M'Donald*, *Peter Lindſey*, and *Thomas Park*. On *Saturday*, *December* the 15th Sir *Archibald Primroſe*,

roſe. Bart. and Ten others were executed at *Carliſle.*

The Proceedings at *York* before the Lord *Irwin*, Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, Sir *Thomas Burnet* &c began on the 2d of *October*, and ended on the 7th, when there were 70 Perſons received Sentence of Death. On the 1ſt of *November* following, the after-named Ten Perſons were executed there, *viz. Capt. George Hamilton*, *Edward Clavering*, *Donald Frazer*, *Charles Gordon*, *Benjamin Maſon*, *James Mayne*, *William Conally*, *William Dempſey*, *Angus M'Donald*, and *James Sparks*. They died like hardened Rebels; two of their Heads were ſet upon *Micklegate Bar*, and Captain *Hamilton*'s ſent in a Box to *Carliſle.* On that Day Se'ennight, there were Eleven more executed at the ſame Place; and on the 15th, *James Reed* ſuffered there by himſelf. Theſe with ſeven other Perſons that were executed at *Penruth* where all the Rebels that died in the North; many of Thoſe that were condemned

condemned having been pardoned, and the reſt ſent to the Plantations.

CHARLES RATCLIFFE, Eſq; was the younger Brother of the unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who ſuffered for the Rebellion in 1715: They were the Sons of Sir *Francis Ratcliffe*, by *Mary Tudor*, natural Daughter to King *Charles* II. by *Mary Davis*, deſcended from the ancient and noble Family of the *Ratcliffes*, Earls of *Suſſex*. He was a Priſoner in *Newgate*, and under Sentence of Death, when his Brother ſuffered, and after receiving ſeveral Reprieves, made his Eſcape from thence when his Life was in no Danger. He went immediately to *France*, from thence to *Rome*, and afterwards returned to *Paris*, where he married the Widow of Lord *Newburn*, by whom he had a Son who embarked with his Father in Favour of the late Expedition, and were taken by his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs*, already taken Notice of, and confined ſome Time a Priſoner with him in the Tower, from whence, on *Friday* the

21ſt

21ſt of *November*, he was brought under a ſtrong Guard to the Court of *King's Bench* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to be arraigned on his Sentence in the Year 1716, when he eſcaped out of *Newgate*. He pleaded that he was a Subject of *France*, in which Country he had reſided 30 Years and had his Commiſſion; and that he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, meaning that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*; then a Jury was impanelled to find him the identical Perſon. On *Saturday* the 22d, Mr *Ratcliffe* being brought up to the Bar of the Court of *King's Bench*, was again arraigned, but refuſed to hold up his Hand, or acknowledge any Juriſdiction but to the King of *France*, inſiſting on a Commiſſion he had in his Pocket from the French King and appealed to his *Sicilian* Majeſty's Miniſter, who was preſent in Court; but on hearing his former Indictment and Conviction, which were read to him, he ſaid, he was not *Charles Ratcliffe* therein named, but that he was the Earl of *Derwentwater*; and his Council informed the Court that this was the Plea he relied on; to which the

the Attorney General replied, with the Averment of his being the ſame *Charles Ratcliff*, and thereupon Iſſue was joined Then the Council for the Priſoner moved to put off his Trial upon his own Affidavit (to which he had ſubſcribed the Count de *Derwentwater*) that two of his material Witneſſes, named them, were abroad without whoſe Teſtimony he could not ſafely go to Trial : This affidavit not proving ſatisfactory, becauſe the Priſoner did not therein aver, that he was the Perſon formerly attainted; a Jury was impanelled, one of whom he challenged peremptorily, which the Court diſallow'd ; then the reſt of the Jury were ſworn, and after a clear Evidence of the Idenity of the Perſon in Behalf of the Crown the Priſoner producing none on his Part, the Jury withdrew about ten Minutes and then brought in their Verdict, that he was the ſame *Charles Ratcliffe*, who was convicted of Treaſon in the Year 1716. Then the Attorney-General moved to have Execution awarded againſt the Priſoner on his former Judgment ; to which the Priſoner's

Priſoner's Council objected, rendering a Plea of Pardon by Act of Parliament, in Bar of Execution; but the Court ſaid, as he had already pleaded ſuch a Plea as he choſe to rely on, and as that was found againſt him, nothing more remained for them to do at preſent, but to award Execution; for which the proper Writs were made out.

On *Monday* the 8th of *December* all Things were put in order for his Execution though the Notice was ſo ſhort that the Carpenters were forced to work on the Scaffold on *Sunday*, and all the following Night. In the Morning about Ten o'Clock, the Block and a Cuſhion, both covered with Black, were brought up and fixed on the Stage, and ſoon after Mr *Ratcliff*'s Coffin, covered with black Velvet, with eight Handles, which and the Nails were gilt with Gold, but there was no Plate or Inſcription upon it. At near Eleven, the Sheriffs, Mr Alderman *Winterbottom* and Mr Alderman *Aſop*, with their Officers, came to ſee if the Scaffold was finiſh'd, and every thing

Thing prepared for Mr *Ratcliffe's* Reception; which being to their Satisfaction, they went to the Tower, and demanded the Body of Mr *Ratcliffe*, of General *Williamson*, Deputy-Governor; upon being delivered, he was put into a Landau, and carried over the Wharf, at the End of which, he was put into a ſmall Booth, joining to the Stairs of the Scaffold, lined with black, where he ſpent about half an Hour in his Devotion; and then, preceded by the Sheriffs, the Divine, and ſome Gentlemen his Friends, came to the Place of Execution.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he took Leave of his Friends with great Serenity and Calmneſs of Mind; and having ſpoken a few Words to the Executioner, gave him a Purſe of ten Guineas and putting on a Damask Cap, kneeled down to Prayers, which laſted about ſeven Minutes, all the Spectators on the Scaffold kneeling with him: Prayers being over, he pulled off his Cloaths, and put his Head on the Block, from whence he ſoon got up, and having ſpoke a

few Words, he kneeled down to it again and fixing his Head in about two Minutes gave the Signal to the Executioner, who at three Blows ſtruck it off, which was received in a Scarlet Cloth held for that Purpoſe. He was dreſſed in Scarlet faced with Black Velvet trimmed with Gold, a Gold-laced Waiſtcoat, and a white Feather in his Hat. He behaved with the greateſt Fortitude and Coolneſs of Temper, and was no way ſhocked at the Approach of Death; on the contrary, he met it with the utmoſt Serenity and Compoſure. He was buried on the 11th at Night in St. *Giles's* in the Fields, near the Remains of his Brother.

The laſt Perſon I have to mention upon this Occaſion is *Simon* Lord *Frazer* of *Lovat*, who being taken in the Highlands, and ſent up Priſoner to *London*, remained a long Time confined in the Tower; and at the Adventures of the latter Part of his Life made his Lordſhip's Story pretty well known, there is no need that I ſhould dwell long upon it here.

here. He was of an antient and honourable Family in *Scotland*, whole Genealogy I ſhall forbear to trace, my Book being ſwelled above my Propoſals, ſo that I ſhall conclude for the preſent with the following Remarks on the latter Part of his Lordſhip's Life; which he ſpent in practiſing the Maxims of Government he had adopted from *France* and *Rome*, by diſtreſſing and impoveriſhing ſuch as had any Buſineſs or Concern with him: Several Gentlemen, who were not immediately under his Subjection, he ruined, by hiring Ruffians to kill their Cattle, and firing their Corn-Fields and Barns on the ſlighteſt Quarrel or Miſunderſtanding between them: His reſtleſs and active Diſpoſition conduced not a little to draw him into Snares; but a ready Invention and ſpeedy Execution helped him out of them. In Buſineſs he was unjuſt and unconſcionable, and declared his own Profit or Pleaſure had always been the Rule of his Actions; and to them, he, on all Occaſions ſacrificed every other Concern: This led him into Violence, Rapes, Cruelty, Treachery,

every baſe and infamous Practice; being guilty of all Manner of enormus Crimes render'd him a fit Inſtrument for carrying on this Hell-bred Scheme of Rebellion, in which he was early engaged, and for which he was impeached by the Houſe of Commons, who charged him with ſeveral Acts of Treaſon; ſuch as engaging in traiterous Deſigns in 1743; ſending over Agents to manage his Schemes in Foreign Countries; accepting Commiſſions, and a Patent creating him Duke *Frazer*, from the Pretender to his Majeſty's Crown; correſponding with his Son; and raiſing his Clan, *&c* all which Lord *Lovat* poſitively deny'd by his Anſwer.

Monday March the 9th, 1747, Lord *Lovat* being brought from the Tower to take his Trial at the Bar at *Weſtminſter*-Hall, where the Peers and Judge being ſeated in their Robes, a Commiſſion for appointing, Lord High Steward was preſented to his Lordſhip, by the Clerk of the Crown, which was afterwards read; during which Time all the Lords ſtood

ſtood uncover'd. The Managers of the Trial were, Sir *William Young* Bart Mr Attorney-General, Mr Sollicitor General, Lord *Barrington*, Lord *Coke*, Mr *Legg*, Mr *Noel*, Sir *John Strange*, Sir *Richard Lloyd*, Mr *York*, Mr *Granville* and Mr *Littleton*. The Council for Lord *Lovat* were *viz.* Mr *Charles Hamilton*, *Gordon*, Mr *Lora*, Mr *Forſter*, and Mr *Willmot*; Mr *George Roſs*, Mr *Hugh Fraſer*, and Mr *Gooſtry*, Sollicitors. Then the Articles of Impeachment were read; and the Lord High Steward acquainted him with the nature of his Crime, to which he pleaded not guilty. The Subſtance of the Articles of Impeachment

1. That he traiterouſly Conſpir'd againſt his Majeſty, in 1743 and 1745.

2. That he Correſponded with the Pretender in 1743, and accepted a Commiſſion under him of Lieutenant-General, and General of the Highlands, and of a Patent Creating him a Duke by the Stile and Title of Duke *Frazer*, &c. aſ-

ſociated with the Traitors and Enemies to his Majeſty's Government.

3. That he aided and aſſiſted in raiſing Men and Money, and levying War againſt his Majeſty.

4. That he caus'd a treaſonable Letter to be wrote and ſent to the Young Pretender, with offers of his Service, and that of his Son and Clan.

5. That he Excited others to rebel and carried treaſonable Papers and Letters to be written and ſent among his Acquaintance and Dependents, with Promiſes of Aſſiſtance.

6 That he ſent his Eldeſt Son and Vaſſals to join the Rebels, and ſupplied them with Arms, Ammunition and Money.

7. That he held a Correſpondence with ſeveral of the Rebels, *viz Roy Stewart*, *Lochiel*, the *Camerons John Murray*, &c. knowing them to be ſo.

Sir

Sir *William Young* ſpoke in defence of the Articles to each of the above Articles his Lordſhip abſolutely denied, lamenting his Calamity, that after the ſtrongeſt Proofs of his Attachments to the preſent Government, and the Zeal ſhewn againſt the Rebels in the former Rebellion in the Year 1715, he ſhould have his Fidelity Queſtion'd and be charged now he is worn out with old Age and Infirmities, with endeavouring to ſubvert that Government he had in the Vigour of his Life, exerted his utmoſt Power to ſupport, and that they Confided in their Lordſhips Juſtice, that he would regard only plain Facts proved by credible and unexceptionable Witneſſes.

Robert Frazer, a Tenant of his Lordſhips, was the firſt Witneſs examined, who Depoſed, '*That his Lordſhip had at ſundry Times endeavoured to perſwade him to take up Arms in Favour of the Pretender, and produced two Letters, Sign'd by his Lordſhip, which he wrote with fair Promiſes of promoting this Witneſs, if he would engage in the Rebellion*

Rebellion. His Lordſhip's Council deſir'd to ſee the Letters which was handed to him, when he perceived that his Lordſhips Name was wrote on a Piece of Paper, and paſſed on the Letter, which he deliver'd to the Court.' The next Witneſs, *Archibald Frazer*, another Tenant of his Lordſhips · *Who ſaid that when the Pretender landed in* Scotland, *that his Loraſtip wrote ſeveral Times to him that he hop'd he would join the Pretenders Party; and in his laſt Letter, Declar'd, whatever Arrears were due at that Time to his Lordſhip it ſhould freely be forgiven him, if he would comply with his Loraſhips requeſt.'* Then the Court Adjourned till next Morning.

Tueſday March 10th, the Court being ſat as before, and his Lordſhip at the Bar, the Managers proceeded further on his Trial, *' When Secretary Murray was called as an Evidence in behalf of the Crown, when his Loraſtip's Council made an Objection againſt this Witneſs, as being a Perſon who ſtood Attainted by Act of Parliament; to which Objection it*

was

was answer'd, by one of the Council for the Crown, That by a Record in the King's Bench, the last Day of the last Term, it appeared he was not attainted having surrendered within the Time limited by the Act, to which the Prisoner reply. it was not to be Concluded by that Record, and insisted that his Surrender within the Limited Time should be proved: and as it was a Point in Law, a Debate arose, both among the Peers and Council, which lasted about two Hours, when the Lord High Steward acquainted the Court that Mr Murray *was by the Opinion of their Lordships admitted an Evidence, then the Court broke up and adjourned till the next Morning.*

Wednesday March the 11th the Court being sat, Secretary *Murray* was called, who gave Evidence as follows, ' *That he had been acquainted and had held a Correspondence with his Lordship for six Years past, which was the beginning of his Lordship and several others to raise a Rebellion against his Majesty, and he produced several Letters which came from*

from his Lordſhip; and directed to him, That he had been at ſeveral Meetings where Lord Lovat *was preſent, and proved that his Lordſhip in his Hearing particularly in the Month of* June 1743, *was the ſole Contriver of an Invaſion, and laid the Plan before the whole Company, and promiſed a Sum of* 4000 *l. towards the Carrying it on; and that the Lord* Lovat *was preſent when another Plan of the Preſent Rebellion was Copied off. Then the Letters which this Witneſs produc'd in Court, were handed to the Council on both Sides, when his Lordſhip was asked, if the ſigning of thoſe Letters were his Lordſhips Hand-writing or not, to which the Priſoner anſwer'd that he could not deny but that it was very much like his Hand-writing; but as the Name* Lovat *was wrote on a piece of Paper and paſted on the Letter, he was ſure that ſome of his Enemies had taken his Name from his Letters and paſted them on thoſe produc'd; two other Witneſſes were Examin'd who prov'd the Fact and then the Court Adjourn'd till the* Friday *following.*

Friday

Friday *March* 13th, The Lords being ſeated in their Robes and the Priſoner brought to the Bar, the next Evidence was *Hugh Frazer*, who had been Secretary to his Lordſhip, then he produced a Letter directed to one of his Tenants, Sign'd, LOVAT, which he in his Evidence proved to be his Lordſhips own Signing. The Subſtance of that Letter was as follows.

SIR,

'I Am not a little ſurpriz'd to find 'you ſo Timerous in joining a Party 'which at one Time will make you as 'happy as you can wiſh; don't be no 'longer ſcrupulous, but bring your Vaſ-'ſals along with you to morrow, and 'you ſhall have all the Encouragement 'you can deſire from your ſincere Friend.

Glaſgow, LOVAT.
Nov. 7, 1745.

Robert Cameron depoſed, that his Lordſhip had offered him the Sum of 50 l. if he would join the Pretender, and bring his Servants with him. The fol-

following Evidences for the Crown depoſed to the ſame Effect, *viz. James Murray, John Fraſer, Peter Kinloch, Samuel Kinloch. Simon Cameron, Hector Fraſer, William Fraſer, Samuel Campbell, Thomas Macdonald*; theſe Witneſſes being Examin'd which ended on the Crown Side, Sir *John Strange*, ſummoned up the Evidence for the King, and concluded with the following Speech.

My Lords,

AS you have heard the Evidences in behalf of his Majeſty againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, I am thorougly convinced that you find them ſufficiently Clear, Plain and Evident, to find him guilty of High Treaſon; but as the laws of this Kingdom give ſuch indulgence to a Priſoner, after he is plainly proved guilty of his Crime, to hear what the Priſoner has to ſay in his Defence; his Lordſhip now may proceed with your Lane on his own Side, which, I fear will be of little or no Service to him, then Lord *Lovat* deſir'd four or five Days to prepare for his Defence, but the Peers adjourned

adjourn'd to their Houſe and after a ſhort debate, they ordered his Lordſhip to be brought on the *Wedneſday* following.

Wedneſday March the 18th between Eleven and Twelve o'Clock, the Lord *Lovat* was brought from the Tower, with the Ax carried before him, and being ſet to the Bar, he was asked to make his defence, his Lordſhip acquainted the Court that he had no Witneſſes, but delivered his defence in Writing, which was to deſire longer Time, but that was over-rul'd, and he was ordered to be brought again the next Day to ſhew cauſe why Judgment ſhould not be awarded againſt him. To which he anſwer'd, that he thought the hardſhips and Misfortunes he had laboured under by his Enemies, was unſupportable: and that it was well known by ſeveral of the Peers in Court, of the ſtrong Zeal ſhewn againſt the Rebels in the Year 1715, and that he thought it hard to have his Fidelity queſtion'd, and be charged in the Winter of Age, being worn out with

Infirmities, with the Crime of High Treaſon againſt a Prince whom he had in the Vigour of his Life executed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſupport the Government of his Royal Father : and hoped that their Lordſhips would be favourable in their report to his Majeſty, and that his Grey Hairs might draw Compaſſion from his Breaſt.

When the Proclamation for ſilence was made when the Lord High Steward, calling the Peers by their Names one by one, begginning at the youngeſt Baron ask'd him, whither Simon Lord *Lovat* was guilty of the High Treaſon, of which he ſtood charged or not guilty, the Baron ſtanding up uncover'd, put his Right Hand on his left Breaſt, and ſaid guilty upon my Honour, and all the reſt of the Peers declar'd the Priſoner guilty of High Treaſon in the ſame Manner.

Thurſday his Lordſhip being brought again to the Bar, the Lord high Steward Pronounced Judgment, which the Law

Law required, and which that High Court rewarded in the uſual Form.

Then Lord *Lovat* ſaid, as he had given Proof of his Loyalty to the late and preſent King, he hoped his Lordſhip would recommend him to his Majeſty's Mercy. Then he turned to the Commons, ſaid he hop'd as they were ſtout, they ſhould be merciful; and going from the Bar, ſaid (God bleſs you all,) I wiſh you an Everlaſting farewell, for we ſhall never meet again in this Place.

Then the Priſoner was taken from the Bar, and the Lord High Steward ſtanding up, he informed the Lords, that all the Buſineſs was Compleated, which by his Commiſſion, he was to execute, and then his Grace took the White Rod in both his Hands, and broke it in two Pieces, and declared his Commiſſion was at an End. The Day of his Execution is fixed on *Thurſday* ſe ennight on Tower Hill.

Thurſday *April* 2d, the Sheriff of *London* and *Middleſex*, received a warrant in a Letter, from the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, for the Execution of Lord *Lovat* on Thurſday next, intimating that it was expected they would expoſe the Head at the four Corners of the Scaffold as uſual: the Sheriffs returned anſwer to his Grace, that as it had not lately been practis'd, they deſir'd it might be inſerted in the body of the Warrant; Lord *Lovat* gave directions for the Interment of his Corpſe in *Scotland*; his Lordſhip is attended by a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt (but is ſaid to be of the perſuaſion of a Sett of People in *France* called *Jenſeniſts* who deny the infallibility of the Pope) his Lordſhip likewiſe deſir'd, that Mr *Baker* a *Romiſh* Prieſt belonging to the King of *Sardinia's* Ambaſſador, might attend him and be in private till his Execution, which was granted. Orders were iſſued for 1200 Soldiers Horſe and Foot, to March at three in the Morning to *Tower-Hill*, to attend the Execution; his Lordſhip Petition'd his Majeſty, that he may be executed after the Man-

Manner of the *Scots* Nobility, *i e.* by an Engine, call'd a Maiden which falls with great Velocity, and at one blow, Sever the Head from the Body.

Thurſday *April* 9th, Between Twelve and One o'Clock, Simon Lord *Lovat* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, the Executioner performed his Office at one blow, About an Hour before the Execution the great Scaffold next the Bars on *Tower-Hill*, being over loaded with Spectators, broke down, by which about Eighteen Perſons were killed, and many more hurt, who died afterwards; there were 400 People on the Scaffold, ſo that as he had cauſed much Deſtruction in his Life, the like Fate follow'd him to the Day of his Death.

Monday *April* 17th, Lord *Lovat* Corpſe was brought from the Houſe of Mr *Stephenſon's* in the *Strand*, accompanied by one Coach, and interred in the Tower.

Thus I have brought my Hiſtory down from the firſt Contrivance of the Rebellion Abroad, to the Death of the laſt Perſon who ſuffer'd for it, without Partiality, and with all the Clearneſs, Candour and Exactneſs in my Power, as well from the beſt Informations I could procure, as my own Obſervations; and I may venture to ſay, that no Man in *Britain*, in a private Station, had ſo great a Share in the Fatigue.

I was likewiſe a Volunteer in 1715, although but 15 Years of Age, and rode in one of the King's Troops; ſo that I have been concerned in driving out both the Popiſh Pretender and his Son; and now conclude with a hearty Wiſh, that nothing of the like kind may happen for the future; and that the *Britiſh* Nation in General may be truly ſenſible and thankful, for the Bleſſings GOD has given them in the auſpicious Houſe of *Hanover*, under whoſe Succeſſion may they live in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Laws

Laws, Liberties and Properties, till Time ſhall be no more.

FINIS.

* † * The Reader is desir'd to excuse any Errors that have escap'd the Corrector, or Press; the Author's principal Aim throughout the Whole, being to set forth Matters of Fact, tho' not flourish'd with that Illustration and Embellishment of Stile as might be expected from a more able Pen.

